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LONDON:

WILLIAM WATTS, CROWN COURT, TEMPLE BAR.

PREFACE.

The study of Comparative Philology has of late years been cultivated in Germany, especially, with remarkable ability and proportionate success. The labours of Grimm, Pott, Bopp, and other distinguished Scholars, have given a new character to this department of literature; and have substituted, for the vague conjectures suggested by external and often accidental coincidences, elementary principles, based upon the prevailing analogies of articulate sounds and the grammatical structure of language.

But although the fact that a material advance has been made in the study of Comparative Philology is generally known, and some of the particulars have been communicated to the English public through a few works on Classical Literature, or in the pages of periodical criticism; yet the full extent of the progress which has been effected, and the steps by which it has been attained, are imperfectly appreciated in this country. The study of the German language is yet far from being extensively pursued; and the results which the German Philologers have developed, and the reasonings which have led to them, being accessible to those only who can consult the original writers, are withheld from many individuals of education and learning to whom the affinities of cultivated speech are objects of interest and inquiry. Translations of the works, in which the information they would gladly seek

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COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

OF THE

SANSCRIT, ZEND,

GREEK, LATIN, LITHUANIAN, GOTHIC, GERMAN,

AND SCLAVONIC LANGUAGES.

BY

PROFESSOR F. BOPP.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

PRINCIPALLY BY

LIEUTENANT EASTWICK, M.R.A.S.

CONDUCTED THROUGH THE PRESS

BY H. H. WILSON, M.A. F.R.S.

BODEN PROFESSOR OF SANSCRIT IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

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for, is conveyed, are necessary to bring within their reach the materials that have been accumulated by German industry and erudition, for the illustration of the history of human speech.

Influenced by these considerations Lord Francis Egerton was some time since induced to propose the translation of a work which occupies a prominent place in the literature of Comparative Philology on the Continent—the Vergleichende Grammatik of Professor Bopp of Berlin. this work a new and remarkable class of affinities has been systematically and elaborately investigated. as his standard the Sanscrit language, Professor Borr has traced the analogies which associate with it and with each other—the Zend, Greek, Latin, Gothic, German, and Sclavonic tongues: and whatever may be thought of some of his arguments, he may be considered to have established beyond reasonable question a near relationship between the languages of nations separated by the intervention of centuries, and the distance of half the globe, by differences of physical formation and social institutions,—between the forms of speech current among the dark-complexioned natives of India and the fair-skinned races of ancient and modern Europe;—a relationship of which no suspicion existed fifty years ago, and which has been satisfactorily established only within a recent period, during which the Sanscrit language has been carefully studied, and the principles of alphabetical and syllabic modulation upon which its grammatical changes are founded, have been applied to its kindred forms of speech by the Philologers of Germany.

As the Vergleichende Grammatik of Professor Bopp is especially dedicated to a comprehensive comparison of languages, and exhibits, in some detail, the principles of the Sanscrit as the ground-work and connecting bond of the comparison, it was regarded as likely to offer most interest to the Philologers of this country, and to be one of

the most acceptable of its class to English students: it was therefore selected as the subject of translation. execution of the work was, however, opposed by two considerations—the extent of the original, and the copiousness of the illustrations derived from the languages of the East, the Sanscrit and the Zend. A complete translation demanded more time than was compatible with Lord F. Egerton's other occupations; and as he professed not a familiarity with Oriental Literature, he was reluctant to render himself responsible for the correctness with which the orientalisms of the text required to be represented. This difficulty was, perhaps, rather over-rated, as the Grammar itself supplies all the knowledge that is needed, and the examples drawn from the Sanscrit and Zend speak for themselves as intelligibly as those derived from Gothic and Sclavonic. In order, however, that the publication might not be prevented by any embarrassment on this account, I offered my services in revising this portion of the work; and have hence the satisfaction of contributing, however humbly, to the execution of a task which I consider likely to give a beneficial impulse to the study of Comparative Philology in Great Britain.

The difficulty arising from the extent of the original work, and the consequent labour and time requisite for its translation, was of a more serious description. This, however, has been overcome by the ready co-operation of a gentleman, who adds a competent knowledge of German to eminent acquirements as an Oriental Scholar. Having mastered several of the spoken dialects of Western India, and made himself acquainted with the sacred language of the Parsees during the period of his service under the Presidency of Bombay, Lieutenant Eastwick devoted part of a furlough, rendered necessary by failing health, to a residence in Germany, where he acquired the additional qualifications enabling him to take a share in the transla-

tion of the Vergleichende Grammatik. He has accordingly translated all those portions of the Comparative Grammar, the rendering of which was incompatible with the leisure of the Noble Lord with whom the design originated, who has borne a share in its execution, and who has taken a warm and liberal interest in its completion.

The Vergleichende Grammatik, originally published in separate Parts, has not yet reached its termination. his first plan the author comprised the affinities of Sanscrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Gothic, and its Teutonic descendants. To these, after the conclusion of the First Part, he added the Sclavonic. He has since extended his researches to the analogies of the Celtic and the Malay-Polynesian dialects, but has not yet incorporated the results with his general Grammar. The subjects already treated of are quite sufficient for the establishment of the principles of the comparison, and it is not proposed to follow him in his subsequent investigations. The first portions of the present Grammar comprise the doctrine of euphonic alphabetical changes, the comparative inflexions of Substantives and Adjectives, and the affinities of the Cardinal and Ordinal Numerals. The succeeding Parts contain the comparative formation and origin of the Pronouns and the Verbs: the latter subject is yet unfinished. The part of the translation now offered to the public stops with the chapter on the Numerals, but the remainder is completed, and will be published without delay.

With respect to the translation, I may venture to affirm, although pretending to a very slender acquaintance with German, that it has been made with great scrupulousness and care, and that it has required no ordinary pains to render in English, with fidelity and perspicuity, the not unfrequently difficult and obscure style of the original.

H. H. WILSON.

PREFACE.

I contemplate in this work a description of the comparative organization of the languages enumerated in the title page, comprehending all the features of their relationship, and an inquiry into their physical and mechanical laws, and the origin of the forms which distinguish their grammatical relations. One point alone I shall leave untouched, the secret of the roots, or the foundation of the nomenclature of the primary ideas. I shall not investigate, for example, why the root I signifies "go" and not "stand"; why the combination of sounds STHA or STA signifies "stand" and not "go." I shall attempt, apart from this, to follow out as it were the language in its stages of being and march of developement; yet in such a manner that those who are predetermined not to recognise, as explained, that which they maintain to be inexplicable, may perhaps find less to offend them in this work than the avowal of such a tendency might lead them to expect. In the majority of cases the primary signification, and, with it, the primary source of the grammatical forms, present themselves to observation in consequence of the extension of the circle of our knowledge of languages, and of the confronting of sister bases separated for ages, but bearing indubitable features of their family connection. In the treatment, indeed, of our European tongues a new epoch could not fail to open upon us in the discovery of

another region in the world of language, namely the Sanscrit,* of which it has been demonstrated, that, in its grammatical constitution, it stands in the most intimate relation to the Greek, the Latin, the Germanic, &c.; so that it has afforded, for the first time, a firm foundation for the comprehension of the grammatical connection between the two languages called the Classical, as well as of the relation of these two to the German, the Lithuanian, and Sclavonic. Who could have dreamed a century ago that a language would be brought to us from the far East, which should accompany, pari passu, nay, sometimes surpass, the Greek in all those perfections of form which have been hitherto considered the exclusive property of the latter, and be adapted throughout to adjust the perennial strife between the Greek dialects, by enabling us to determine where each of them has preserved the purest and the oldest forms?

The relations of the ancient Indian languages to their European kindred are, in part, so palpable as to be obvious to every one who casts a glance at them, even from a distance: in part, however, so concealed, so deeply implicated in the most secret passages of the organization of the language, that we are compelled to consider every language subjected to a comparison with it, as also the language itself, from new stations of observation, and to employ the highest powers of grammatical science and method in order to recognise and illustrate the original unity of the different grammars. The Semitic languages are of a more compact nature, and, putting out of sight lexicographical and syntactical features, extremely meagre in contrivance; they had little to part

^{*} Sanskrita signifies "adorned, completed, perfect"; in respect to language, "classic"; and is thus adapted to denote the entire family or race." It is compounded of the elements sam, "with," and krita (nom. kritas, kritâ, kritam), "made," with the insertion of a euphonic s (§§. 18. 96.).

with, and of necessity have handed down to succeeding ages what they were endowed with at starting. The triconsonantal fabric of their roots, which distinguishes this race from others, were of itself sufficient to designate the parentage of every individual of the family. The family bond, on the other hand, which embraces the Indo-European race of languages, is not indeed less universal, but, in most of its bearings, of a quality infinitely more refined. The members of this race inherited, from the period of their earliest youth, endowments of exceeding richness, and, with the capability, the methods, also, of a system of unlimited composition and agglutination. Possessing much, they were able to bear the loss of much, and yet to retain their local life; and by multiplied losses, alterations, suppressions of sounds, conversions and displacements, the members of the common family are become scarcely recognisable to each other. It is at least a fact, that the relation of the Greek to the Latin, the most obvious and palpable, though never quite overlooked, has been, down to our time, grossly misunderstood; and that the Roman tongue, which, in a grammatical point of view, is associated with nothing but itself, or with what is of its own family, is even now usually regarded as a mixed language, because, in fact, it contains much which sounds heterogeneous to the Greek, although the elements from which these forms arose are not foreign to the Greek and other sister languages, as I have endeavoured partly to demonstrate in my "System of Conjugation."

The close relationship between the Classical and Germanic languages has, with the exception of mere comparative lists of words destitute of principle and critical judgment, remained, down to the period of the appearance of the Asiatic intermediary, almost entirely unobserved, although the acquaintance of philologists with the Gothic, dates now from a century and a half; and that language is so perfect in its Grammar and so clear in its affinities, that had it been

earlier submitted to a rigorous and systematic process of comparison and anatomical investigation, the pervading relation of itself, and, with it, of the entire Germanic stock, to the Greek and Roman, would necessarily have long since been tracked through all its variations, and by this time been understood and recognised by every philologer.* For what is more important, or can be more earnestly desired by the cultivator of the classical languages, than their comparison with our common parent in her oldest and most perfect form? Since the Sanscrit has appeared above our horizon, that element can no longer be excluded from a really profound investigation of any district of language related to it; a fact, however, which sometimes escapes the notice of the most approved and circumspect labourers in this department.† We need not fear that practical solidity in

^{*} Rask has been the first to afford a comprehensive view of the close relationship between the Germanic and the Classical Languages, in his meritorious prize treatise "On the Thracian Tribe of Languages," completed in 1814 and published in 1818, from which Vater gives an extract in his Comparative Tables. It cannot be alleged as a reproach against him that he did not profit by the Asiatic intermediary not then extensively known; but his deficiency in this respect shews itself the more sensibly, as we see throughout that he was in a condition to use it with intelligence. Under that deficiency, however, he almost everywhere halts halfway towards the truth. We have to thank him for the suggestion of the law of displacement of consonants, more acutely considered and fundamentally developed by Grimm (§. 87. see Vater, §. 12.).

[†] We refer the reader to the very weighty judgment of W. von Humboldt on the indispensable necessity of the Sanscrit for the history and philosophy of language (Indische Bibl. I. 133). We may here borrow, also, from Grimm's preface to the second edition of his admirable Grammar some encouraging words (I. vi.): "The dialect which history demonstrates to be the oldest and least corrupted must, in the end, present the most profound rules for the general exposition of the race, and thus lead us on to the reformation, without the entire subversion of the rules hitherto discovered, of the more recent modes of speech."

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utraque lingua, on which the philologer mainly depends, can suffer prejudice by extension over too many languages; for the variety vanishes when the real identity is recognised and explained, and the false light of discrepancy is excluded. It is one thing, also, to learn a language, another to teach one, i.e. to describe its mechanism and organization. The learner may confine himself within the strictest limits, and forbear to look beyond the narrowest boundaries of the language to be studied: the teacher's glance, on the contrary, must pass beyond the narrow limits of one or two members of a family, and he must summon around him the representatives of the entire race, in order to infuse life, order, and organic mutual dependency into the mass of the languages spread before him. To attempt this appears to me the main requirement of the present period, and past centuries have been accumulating materials for the task.

The Zend Grammar can only be recovered by the process of a severe regular etymology, calculated to bring back the unknown to the known, the much to the little; for this remarkable language, which in many respects reaches beyond, and is an improvement on, the Sanscrit, and makes its theory more attainable, would appear to be no longer intelligible to the disciples of Zoroaster. Rask, who had the opportunity to satisfy himself on this head, says expressly (V. d. Hagen, p. 33) that its forgotten lore has yet to be rediscovered. I am also able, I believe, to demonstrate that the Pehlvi translator (tom. II. pp. 476, et seq.) of the Zend Vocabulary, edited by Anquetil, has frequently and entirely failed in conveying the grammatical sense of the Zend words which he translates. The work abounds with singular mistakes; and the distorted relation of Anquetil's French translation to the Zend expressions is usually to be ascribed to the mistakes in the Pehlvi interpretations of the Zend original. Almost all the oblique cases, by degrees, come to take rank as nominatives; the

numbers are sometimes mistaken. We afterwards find forms of cases produced by the Pehlvi translator as verbal persons, and next these also confounded with each other, or translated by abstract names.* Anquetil makes, as far as I know, no remark on the age of the Vocabulary to which I advert; while he ascribes to another, in which the Pehlvi is interpreted through the Persian, an antiquity of four centuries. The one in question cannot therefore be ascribed to any very late period. The necessity, indeed, of interpretation for the Zend must have been felt much sooner than for the Pehlvi, which remained much longer current among the Parsee tribes. It was therefore an admirable problem which had for its solution the bringing to light, in India, and, so to say, under the very eye of the Sanscrit, a sister language, no longer understood, and obscured by the rubbish of ages; a solution indeed not hitherto fully obtained, but beyond doubt destined to be so. The first contribution to the knowledge of this language which can be relied on—that of Rask namely, his treatise "On the age and authenticity of the Zend Language and the Zend-Avesta," published in 1826, and made generally accessible by V. d. Hagen's translation, deserves high honour as a first attempt. The Zend has to thank this able man for the more natural appearance which it has derived from his rectification of the value of its written characters, making us the more regret his premature decease. Of three words of different declensions he gives us the singular inflections, and although with some sensible deficiencies, yet especially in particulars of the highest interest, and displaying that independence of the Sanscrit which Rask claims, perhaps in too high a degree, for the Zend; a language

^{*} Instances of these mistakes are here given by Professor Bopp in a note, which it has not been thought necessary to translate, as irrelevant to the general purport of the Preface."—Editor.

we are, however, unwilling to receive as a mere dialect of the Sanscrit, and to which we are compelled to ascribe an independent existence, resembling that of the Latin as compared with the Greek, or the Old Northern with the Gothic. For the rest, I refer the reader to my review of Rask's and Bohlen's Zendschriften in the Annual of Scientific Criticism for December 1831, as also to an earlier work (March 1831) on the able labours of E. Burnouf in this newly-opened field. My observations, derived from the original texts edited by Burnouf in Paris, and by Olshausen in Hamburgh, already extend themselves, in these publications, over all parts of the Zend Grammar; and nothing therefore has remained for me, but further to establish, to complete, and to adjust the particulars in such a manner that the reader may be conducted on a course parallel with that of the known languages, with the greatest facility towards an acquaintance with the newlydiscovered sister tongue. In order to obviate the difficulty and the labour which attends the introduction of the learner to the Zend and Sanscrit-difficulty sufficient to alarm and to exhaust—I have appended to the original characters the pronunciation, laid down on a consistent method, or in places where, for reasons of space, one character alone is given, it is the Roman. This method is also perhaps the best for the gradual introduction of the reader to the knowledge of the original characters.

As in this work the languages it embraces are treated for their own sakes, i.e. as objects and not means of knowledge, and as I aim rather at a physiology of them than at an introduction to their practical use, it has been in my power to omit many particulars which contribute nothing to the character of the whole; and I have gained thereby more space for the discussion of matters more important, and more intimately incorporated with the vital spirit of the language. By this process, and by the strict observance of a method which brings under one view all points mutually

dependent and mutually explanatory, I have, as I flatter myself, succeeded in bringing together under one whole, and in a reasonable space, the leading incidents of many richly-endowed languages or grand dialects of an extinct original stock. Special care has been bestowed throughout on the German. This care was indispensable to one who, following Grimm's admirable work, aimed at applying to it the correction and adjustment that had become necessary in his theory of relations, the discovery of new affinities, or the more precise definition of those discovered, and to catch, with greater truth, at every step of grammatical progress, the monitory voices of the Asiatic as well as the European sisterhood. It was necessary, also, to set aside many false appearances of affinity; as, for example, to deprive the i in the Lithuanian geri, of its supposed connection with the i of Gothic, Greek, and Latin forms, such as godai, ἀγαθοι, boni (see p. 251, Rem. †, and compare Grimm I. 827.11); and to disconnect the Latin is of lupis (lupibus) from the Greek ις of λύκοις (λύκοι-σι). As concerns the method followed in treating the subject of Germanic grammar, it is that of deducing all from the Gothic as the guiding star of the German, and at the same time of placing it in juxta-position with the older languages and the Lithuanian. At the close of each lecture on the cases, a tabular view is given of the results obtained, in which every thing naturally depends on the most accurate distinction of the terminations from the base, which ought not, as usually happens, to be put forward capriciously, so that a portion of the base is drawn into the inflection, by which the division becomes not merely useless, but injurious, as productive of positive error. Where there is no real termination none should be appended for appearance sake: thus, for example, we give, §. 148, the nominatives χώρα, terra, giba, &c., as without inflection §. 137. The division gib-a would lead us to adopt the erroneous notion that a is the termination, whereas it is only

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In certain instances it is extraordinarily difficult in languages not now thoroughly understood to hit on the right divisions, and to distinguish apparent terminations from true. I have never attempted to conceal these difficulties from the reader, but always to remove them from his path.

The Old High German, especially in its oldest period (from the eighth to the eleventh century), I have only mentioned in the general description of forms when it contributes something of importance. The juxta-position of it in its three main periods with the Gothic, grammatically explained at the close of each chapter, is sufficient, with a reference also to the treatise on sounds intended to prepare and facilitate my whole Grammar, after the model of my Sanscrit Grammar. Wherever, in addition, explanatory remarks are necessary, they are given. The second division

^{*} The simple maxim laid down elsewhere by me, and deducible only from the Sanscrit, that the Gothic δ is the long of a, and thereby when shortened nothing but a, as the latter lengthened can only become δ , extends its influence over the whole grammar and construction of words, and explains, for example, how from dags, "day" (theme DAGA), may be derived, without change of vowel, $d \circ g s$ ($D \overline{O} G A$), "daily"; for this derivation is absolutely the same as when in Sanscrit rajuta, "argenteus," comes from rajata, "argentum," on which more hereafter. Generally speaking, and with few exceptions, the Indian system of vowels, pure from consonantal and other altering influences, is of extraordinary importance for the elucidation of the German grammar: on it principally rests my own theory of vowel changes, which differs materially from that of Grimm, and which I explain by mechanical laws, with some modifications of my earlier definitions, while with Grimm it has a dynamic signification. A comparison with the Greek and Latin vocalism, without a steady reference to the Sanscrit, is, in my opinion, for the German more confusing than enlight. ening, as the Gothic is generally more original in its vocal system, and at least more consistent than the Greek and Latin, which latter spends its whole wealth of vowels, although not without pervading rules, in merely responding to a solitary Indian a (septimus for septamas, quatuor for chatvar-as, réogaç-es, momordi for mamarda).

will thus begin with the comparative view of the Germanic declensions, and then proceed to the adjectives, in order to describe their formations of gender and degrees of comparison; from these to the pronouns.

As the peculiarities of inflection of the latter must be already looked at for the most part in the doctrine of the universal formation of the cases, inasmuch as they are intimately connected and mutually illustrative, what will remain to be said on their behalf will claim the less space, and the main compass of the second division will remain for the verb. To the formation and comparison of words it is my intention to devote a separate work, which may be considered as a completion of its antecedent. In this will, also, find their place, the particles, conjunctions, and original prepositions, which I consider as partly offshoots of pronominal roots, and as partly naked roots of this class of words,* and which

^{*} I refer the reader preliminarily to my two last treatises (Berlin, Ferd. Dümmler) "On Certain Demonstrative Bases, and their connection with various Prepositions and Conjunctions," and "On the Influence of Pronouns on the Formation of Words." Compare, also, C. Gottl. Schmidt's excellent tract "Quæst. Gramm. de Præpositionibus Græcis," and the review of the same, distinguished by acute observations, by A. Benary, in the Berlin Annual (May 1830). If we take the local adverbs in their relation to the prepositions—and a near relation does exist—we shall find in close connection with the subject a remarkable treatise of the minister W. von Humboldt, "On the Affinity of the Local Adverbs to the Prepositions in certain Languages." The Zend has many grammatical rules which were established without these discoveries, and have since been demonstrated by evidence of facts. Among them it was a satisfaction to me to find a word used in Sanscrit only as a preposition (ava, "of,") in the Zend a perfect and declinable pronoun (§. 172.). Next we find sa-cha, "isque," which in Sanscrit is only a pronoun in its Zend shape אפגעטע ha-cha (§. 53.), often used as a preposition to signify "out of"; the particle אט cha, "and," loses itself, like the cognate que in absque, in the general signification.

[&]quot;Remark.—What in §. 68. is said of the rise of the u or o out of the

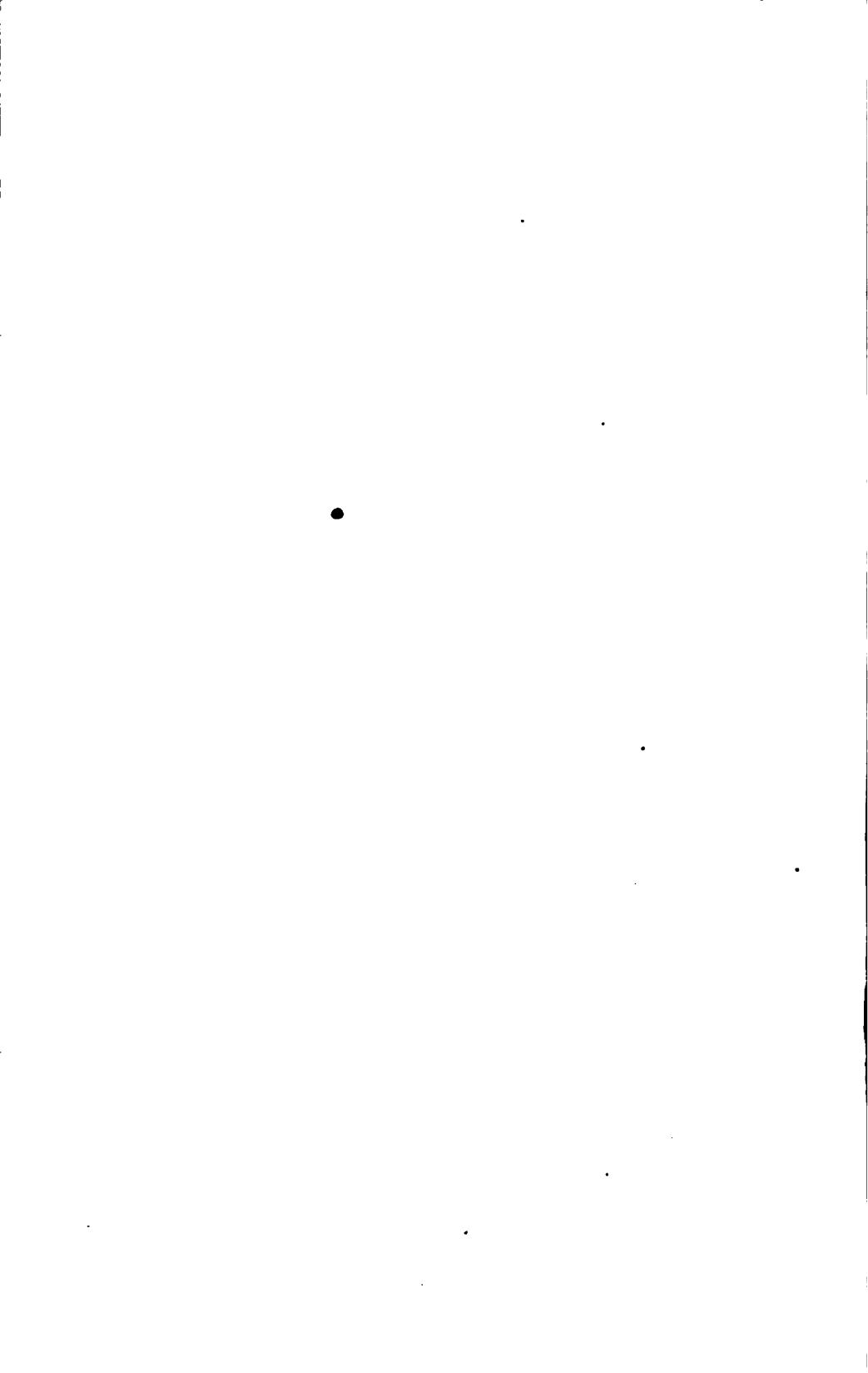
will, therefore, be treated in this point of view among the pronominal adjectives.* It is likely that a chasm in our literature, very prejudicial to inquiries of this kind, may be shortly filled up by a work ready for the press, and earnestly looked for by all friends of German and general philology, the Old High German Treasury of Graff. What we may expect from a work founded on a comprehensive examination of the MS. treasures of libraries national and foreign, as well as on a correction of printed materials, may be gathered from a survey of the amount contributed to knowledge in a specimen of the work, small, but happily selected, "The Old High German Prepositions."

F. BOPP.

BERLIN, 1833.

older a is so far to be corrected according to my later conviction, that nothing but a retrospective influence is to be ascribed to the liquids; and the u and the o, in forms like plintemu (mo), plintyu, are to be excepted from the influence of the antecedent consonants."

^{*} The arrangement thus announced, as intended, has undergone, as will be seen, considerable modification.—*Editor*.



COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR.

CHARACTERS AND SOUNDS.

Sanscrit writing distinguishes the long from their corresponding short vowels by particular characters, slightly differing from each other. We propose to distinguish the long vowels, and the diphthongs e and o, which spring from i and u united with an antecedent a, by a circumflex. The simple vowels are, first, the three, original and common to all languages, a, i, u, short and long; secondly, a vowel r, peculiar to the Sanscrit, which I distinguish by r, and its long sound by \bar{r} . The short r (\mathbf{v}) is pronounced like the consonant τ with a scarcely-distinguishable i, and in European texts is usually written ri; the long \bar{r} (\mathbf{v}) is scarcely to be distinguished from the union of an r with-a long i. Both vowels appear to me to be of later origin; and r presents itself generally as a shortening of the syllable ar by suppression of the a. The long \tilde{r} is of much rarer occurrence. In declension it stands only for a lengthening of the r, where, according to the laws of the formation of cases, a short vowel at the end of the inflective base must be lengthened; and in the conjugation and formation of words, those roots to which grammarians assign a terminating $\mathbf{v}_{\bar{r}}$ almost always substitute for this unoriginal vowel wat ar, st ir, ir, or, after labials, sa ur. The last simple vowel of the Sanscrit writing belongs more to the grammarians than to the language: it is in character, as well as in pronun-with $\mathbf{v}_{\mathbf{r}}$ ($\mathbf{v}_{\mathbf{r}}$). We require no representative for this vowel, and shall not further advert to it.

2. Sanscrit possesses two kinds of diphthongs. In the one, a short a united with a following i becomes $\mathbf{v} \in \mathcal{E}$ (equivalent to the French ai), and with u becomes with (equivalent to the French au); so that neither of the united elements is heard, but both melt into a third sound. In the second kind, a long & with a following i becomes $\mathbf{\hat{z}}$ ai, and with \mathbf{u} , $\mathbf{\hat{u}}$ au, as in the German words waise, baum; so that the two elements form indeed one syllable, but are both audible. In order, however, to fix the observation on the greater weight of the a in this diphthong, we write di for $\mathbf{\hat{e}}$, and du for $\mathbf{\hat{e}}$. That in $\mathbf{\hat{e}}$ and wit 6 a short, in the di and with du, a long a is bound up I infer from this, that where, in order to avoid a hiatus, the last element of a diphthong merges into its corresponding semi-vowel, out of ए é and जो ô proceed the sounds ज्य ay and आय av (with short a), but out of रे di and जी du proceed dy and dv. If, according to the rules of combination, a concluding जा 4, with an इi, ईi, or उu, अं u of a following word, be combined, like the short a, into v é and with o, but not into the and with du, this, in my view, is to be understood as if the long a, before its combination with the initial vowel of the following word, had shortened itself. This should the less surprise us, as the long a before a dissimilar vowel of an inflexion or a suffix entirely disappears; and, for example, ददा dada with उस् us makes neither द्दीस् dadaus, nor द्दोस dadós, but दृद्स dadus. The opinion I have already expressed on this point I-have since found confirmed by the Zend; in which we di always stands in the place of the Sanscrit the sand سر and سر au for will du. support, also, of my theory, appears the fact, that a concluding a (short or long) with a following $e \in a$ or $a \in b$, becomes di and du; of which it is to be understood, that the short a contained in & and & merges with the antecedent a into a long a, which then, with the i of the diphthong ℓ , becomes di, and with the u of d, becomes du. For example, ममैतन mambitat, from मम सतत mama état, is to be understood as if the diphthong र é united its first element a with the preceding a into â, and with this, further united its last element (i) into र â.

- 3. Among the simple vowels the old Indian alphabet is deficient in the designation of the Greek epsilon and omicron (ϵ and o), whose sounds, if they existed when the Sanscrit was a living language, yet could only have evolved themselves, subsequently to the fixing of its written character, out of the short a; for an alphabet which lends itself to the subtlest gradations of sound would assuredly not have neglected the difference between ă, ĕ, and ŏ, if the sounds had been forthcoming.* It is important here to observe, that in the oldest Germanic dialect, namely, the Gothic, the sounds and characters of the short e and o are also wanting, and that either a, i, or u correspond, in that dialect, to our German short e. For example, faltha, "ich falte," giba, "ich gebe." In the Zend the Sanscrit wa a remains usually wa, or has changed itself, according to certain rules, into ¿ ĕ. Thus, for example, before a concluding $m \in \check{e}$ remains fast; compare the accusative ६६१७७ puthre-m "filium" with पुत्रम putra-m; and its genitive μυνυ⁷6,0 puthra-he with yater putra-sya. In Greek the Sanscrit a becomes $\check{\alpha}$, ϵ , or o, without presenting any certain rules for the choice between these three vowels; but the prevailing practice is, that in nominal terminations the Greek o answers to the Indian a, except in the vocatives, where an ϵ is substituted. In the Latin, besides ă, ĕ, and ŏ, u is also employed, in the terminations of nouns of the second declension and of the first person plural, as also in some adverbial suffixes, to replace the Sanscrit a.
 - 4. As in the Greek the short Sanscrit a is oftener replaced

^{*} Grimm, Vol. i. p. 594; with whom I entirely concur in this matter; having long abandoned a contrary opinion, which I maintained in 1819 in the Annals of Oriental Literature.

by ε or o than by a short a, so the long δ w is oftener represented by η or ω than by a long alpha: and if in the Doric the long α has maintained itself in places where the ordinary dialect employs an η , no similar trace of the long \bar{a} has been retained where ω usually prevails. ετηθη dadhāmi, "I place," becomes τίθημι; ददानि dadâmi, "I give," δίδωμι; the Dual termination πισ tâm answers to την, and only in the imperative to $\tau\omega\nu$: on the other hand, the win Δm of the genitive plural is always represented by $\omega \nu$. Never, if we except peculiarities of dialect, does either η or ω stand for the Indian diphthong formed by an इ i or an su following a long d, e d or e d: for the first the Greek substitutes $\epsilon \iota$ or $o\iota$, because for a repeated ϵ and o are the substitutes, and for the last ev or ov. Thus, en émi, "I go," becomes είμι; पतेस pates, "thou mightest fall," πίπτοις; चेद véda, "I know," οίδα; τη go, "a bull," βου-ς. From this dropping of the i or u in the Indian diphthongs & and & it may happen that α , ϵ , or o, answer to these diphthongs; thus, स्वतास êkataras, "one of two," becomes हं र्द्रव dêvri, * " brother-in-law," Latin, levir (nom. देवा dévâ, accus. देवास् devar-am), becomes δαήρ; देवस dêva-s, "God," Θέος; and the o in $\beta o \delta \varsigma$, $\beta o i$, stands for $\beta o v - \delta \varsigma$, $\beta o v - i$, the u of which must have passed into F, and certainly did so at first, as is proved by the transition into the Latin bovis, bovi, and the Indian गिष gavi, from gô-i.

5. In Latin we sometimes find the long e, which, however, may be shortened by the influence of the following consonant, arising from the mixture of a and i, as in the abovementioned word lévir, and in the conjunctive amêmus. कामयेम kâmayêma from kâmaya-îma.

6. If we inquire after the greater or less relative Weight

^{*} The original has devr, but, as observed in p. 1, in European texts it is usual to write ri for ; and the absence of any sign for the vowel sound is calculated to cause embarrassment: it seems advisable, therefore, to express by ri—Editor.

of the vowels of different quality, I have discovered, by various but sure appearances, which I shall further illustrate in my treatise on Forms, that in Sanscrit a and a are graver than the corresponding quantity of the vowel i; and this discovery is of the utmost importance for every Treatise on special as well as comparative Grammar. It leads us, in particular, to important discoveries with respect to the Germanic modification of vowels. In Latin, also, the i may be considered as lighter than a, and generally takes the place of the latter when a root with an original a would otherwise be burthened with a reduplication of sound. Hence, for example, abjicio for abjacio, tetigi for tetagi. I am compelled by this view to retract an earlier conjecture, that the i in tetigi was produced by a virtue of assimilation in the termination i. I have also to relieve myself from my former theory, that the e in words like inermis, imberbis, instead of inarmis, imbarbis, springs from a retrospective power of assimilation in the following i, after the fashion of the modification of the vowel in German (Grimm, p. 80), and must place it in the same class with the e in such forms as abjectus and tubicen. The Latin radical a, for instance, is subject to a double alteration, when the root is burthened with antecedent syllables or words: it becomes i in open syllables, but e if the vowel is pressed upon by a following consonant unattended by a vowel. Hence we have tubicen, abjectus, in contrast to tubicinis, abjicio; and inermis, imberbis, not inirmis, imbirbis: on the contrary, inimicus, insipidus, not inemicus, insepidus. In connection with this stands the transition of the first or second declension into the third. As us is the masculine form for a, we ought to say, inermus, imberbus; but these, and other such forms, owe their origin to the lesser weight of the i. With the displacement of the accent, where it occurs, this change of the vowel has nothing to do; but the removal of the accent and the weakening of the vowel are nearly related, and are both governed together by their mutual position. In the

Lithuanian we find similar appearances; as, for example, pónas, "lord," at the end of compounds, is weakened into ponis, as rótponis, "eouncillor," Germ. rathsherr.

Sanscrit Grammar gives no certain indication of the relative weight of the u with regard to the other original vowels. The u is a vowel too decided and full of character to allow of its being exchanged in this language, in relief of its weight, for any other letter. It is the most obstinate of all, and admits of no exclusion from a terminating syllable, in cases where a and i admit suppression. Nor will it retire from a reduplicated syllable in cases where a allows itself to be weakened down to i. Thus in Latin we have pupugi, tutudi; while a, in cases of repetition, is reduced to i or ĕ (tetigi, fefelli, &c.) In the Gothic, also, the u may boast of its pertinacity: it remains firm as the terminating vowel of classes of nouns where a and i have undergone suppression, and in no single case has it been extinguished or transmuted. No power, however, exists which will not yield at last to time; and thus in the High German whose oldest records are nearly four centuries younger than Ulphilas, the u has, in many cases, given way, or become in declension similar to i.

8. If, in the matter of the relative dignity of the vowels, we cast a glance at another race of languages, we find in Arabic the u taking precedence in nobility, as having its place in the nominative, while the declension is governed by the change of the terminating vowel; i, on the contrary, shews its weakness, by having its place in the genitive, the most dependent case of the Arabic, and one which cannot be separated from the governing word. I, also, is continually used in cases where the grammatical relation is expressed by a preposition. Compare, also, in the plural, the *una* of the nominative with the *una* of the oblique cases. A stands between the strong u and the weaker i; and under the three-fold change of vowels stands in the accusative, which admits of more freedom than the genitive. In the oblique cases,

however, of nouns, and in the two-fold change of vowels, it stands opposed to the u of the nominative, and in the dependent conjunctive of the verb to the u of the independent indicative.

9. Between the vowels and the consonants, or at the close of the list of vowels, are commonly placed two signs, the sounds of which are rather to be considered as appendages to, or modifications of, the preceding vowels, than as independent sounds, and take, also, no place in the alphabet of the Native Grammarians, inasmuch as they are considered neither as consonants nor vowels, but rather as complements The first, which we distinguish by a \dot{n} , is to the latter. called Anusvara, "echo;" and is, in fact, a thick nasal echo, which I think is best represented by the nasal n at the end of a French syllable. The weakness of its expression is discernible in the fact that it does not, like a consonant, impede the euphonic influence of an i or a u on a following s. (See Sanscrit Grammar, p. 101.) It has its place before semivowels (य y, र्r, छ l, य v), sibilants, and h; and we might thence term it the nasal of the two last lists of consonants, and assign its alphabetical place between them. cluding **n**, followed by one of these, passes into Anusvâra; for example, तस्याम् tasyâm, "in this," becomes तस्यां tasyân, with the French nasal pronunciation of the n, if such a word राने। ratrau, "in the night," come after. In connection with the स s of a verbal termination, a radical न n also passes into Anusvâra; as, हंसि hansi, "thou killest," from हन् han. Great confusion, however, has arisen from the circumstance that the Indian copyists allow themselves to express the unaltered concluding m, as well as all the nasal alterations, and, in the middle of words, each of the six nasal sounds (the proper Anusvâra included), by Anusvâra.*

^{*} The practice is not unauthorized by rule. A final # is convertible to Anusvâra before any consonant (Pán. 8. 3. 23.); and a medial # or # is convertible

endeavoured, in my Grammar, to remedy this confusion in the simple theory of Anusvâra. My predecessors in the treatment of Sanscrit Grammar make no distinction between the real and the supposititious Anusvâra. Colebrooke gives it, in general, the pronunciation of a n, and calls it "the shortening of the nasal consonants at the end of a syllable," which leads to the error, that each of the nasal characters, even the concluding π n, may be mutilated into Anusvâra. Forster expresses it by the n in the English word plinth; Carey and Yates by the English combination ng; Wilkins by m. All substitute it for the concluding q of grammatical terminations; and as they give rules for the transition of the Anusvâra into म or न, the necessary consequence occurs, that we must write abhavan or abhavang, "I was;" dantan or dantang, "a tooth;" not abhavam, dantam. Colebrooke, on the other hand, expressing a Sanscrit inscription in Roman letters (Asiatic Transactions, Vol. VII.) gives the proper termination m, and before t, n, by an euphonic rule; but he maintains the original m before sibilants and half vowels where Anusvâra is due; as, vidvishâm śrimad, for विश्विषा vidvishân. On the other hand, F. von Schlegel and Frank write n, for the value of Anusvâra, in the place of m in several grammatical terminations. The first, for example, gives danon, "a gift," for danam; the second, ahan for aham, "I." A.W. Schlegel gives rightly m instead of a spurious or representative Anusvâra at the end of words; and lets, for example, the infinitive terminate in tum, not in tun or tung. He nevertheless, on this important point of grammar, retains the erroneous opinion, that the Anusvâra is a variable nasal, which, before vowels, must of necessity pass into m (Preface to the Bhag. Gita, p. xv); while the direct converse is the fact, that the concluding m is the

convertible to Anusvâra before any consonant except a semi-vowel or a nasal. (Ib. 8. 3. 24.) Such are the rules. In practice, the mutation of the final \forall is constant: that of the medial nasal is more variable, and in general the change occurs before the semi-vowels and sibilants.—*Editor*.

variable nasal, which also, under certain conditions, passes into the proper Anusvâra; but before vowels is necessarily retained, both in writing and pronunciation. Schlegel also still considers the original π m at the end of words as an euphonic alteration of the dead sound of Anusvåra appears from his mode of printing Sanscrit text, in which he makes no division between a concluding m and the commencing vowel of the following word; while he does make a division after η n, and thereby shews that he admits a division after terminating letters which remain unaffected by the influence of the letters which follow. If, however, we write तान खन्नवीत tân abravit, "he said to them," we must also write तान् धन्नवीत् tâm abravît, "he said to her;" not तामझवीत tâmabravit, for the म of ताम tâm is original, and not, as Von Schlegel thinks, begotten out of Anusvâra. The conjecture of C. Lassen (Ind. Bibl. Book III. p. 39), that the Anusvâra is to be understood, not as an after sound (nachlaut), nor as an echo (nachhall), but as a sound which regulates itself by that which follows—as it were the term Nachlaut, with the accent on laut *—appears to me highly improbable. Schlegel's nasalis mutabilis would indeed be justified by this view, and the imputation of error removed from the Indian Grammarians, to whom we willingly concede a knowledge of the value of the Sanscrit signs of sound, and whom we are unwilling to censure for designating a half sound as mutable, in a language whose termi-

^{*} This seems intended for an explanation, for Lassen has nothing like it. I have not found an etymological explanation of the term in any grammatical commentary; but it may be doubted if the explanation of the text, or that given by Lassen, be correct. Anusvara may indeed be termed sequens sonus; but by that is to be understood the final or closing sound of a syllable. Any other nasal may be used as the initial letter of a syllable; but the nasal Anusvara is exclusively an "after" sound, or final. It is not even capable of blending, as it were, with a following vowel, like a final n or m, as in tân- or tamabravât. It is the legitimate representative of either of the other nasals when those are absolutely terminal,

nating sounds are almost always governed by the following It is true the half sound owes its being to the mutability of a concluding m, but is not mutable itself, since it never has an independent existence of its own at the end of any word: in the middle, however, of a radical syllable, as देश dans, हिंस hins, it is susceptible of expulsion, but not of That the Indian Grammarians, however, consider the m and not the \dot{n} as the original but mutable letter in grammatical terminations, like चन् am, भ्यान् bhyûm, &c., appears from the fact that they always write these terminations, where they give them separate, with the labial nasal, and not with Anusvâra. If it be objected that this is of no importance, as dependent on the caprice of the editor or copyist, we can adduce as a decisive proof of the just views of the Indian Grammarians in this respect, that when they range the declensions of words in the order of their terminating letters, the Pronouns इदम idam, and विम् kim, in which they consider the m as primitive, are treated when the turn comes of the labial nasal m, and together with प्रज्ञाम् prasam, "quiet," from the root ज्ञाम् sam. Kaumudî, p. 46.)

The deadened nasal, which is expressed in the Lithuanian by particular signs over the vowel which it follows, appears to be identical with the Sanscrit Anusvâra; and we write it in the same manner with \dot{n} . At the end of words it stands for the remainder of an ancient m, in the accusative singular for example; and the deadening of n before s into \dot{n} presents

to the initial consonant of the following word. Again, with regard to its relation to the semi-vowels and sibilants, it may be regarded as appropriate to them merely in as far as neither of the other nasals is so considered. In this sense Anusvâra may be termed a subsidiary or supplemental sound, being prefixed with most propriety to those letters which, not being classed under either of the five series of sounds, have no rightful claim to the nasals severally comprehended within each respective series.— Editor.

a remarkable accordance with the Sanscrit rule of euphony before mentioned. From laupsin-u, "I praise," therefore comes laupsinsu, "I shall praise;" as in Sanscrit, हस्याधि hansyami, "I shall kill," from the root इन han. In the Prakrit, not only the म m, but the न n, at the end of words, has always fallen into Anusvara, without regard to the following letters. Thus we read in Chezy's edition of the Sacontala, p. 70, अवर्ष, which is certainly to be pronounced, not bhaavam, but bhaavan, for अगवन bhaavan; चुचे kudhan, for मुखन kutham.*

- 11. The second of the signs before mentioned is named Visarga, which signifies abandonment. It expresses a breathing, which is never primitive, but only appears at the end of words in the character of an euphonic alteration of \mathbf{z} and \mathbf{z} . These two letters (s, r) are very mutable at the end of words, and are changed into Visarga before a pause or the deadened letters of the guttural and labial classes (§ 12). We write this sign h to distinguish it from the true \mathbf{z} h.
- 12. The proper consonants are classed in the Sanscrit alphabet according to the organs used in their pronunciation; and form, in this division, five classes. A sixth is formed by the semi-vowels, and a seventh by the sibilants and the Eh. In the first five ranks of these consonants the single letters are so arranged, that the first are the surd or hard consonants, the thin, tenues, and their aspirates; next, the sonant or soft, the medials, and their aspirates, each class being completed by its nasal. The nasals belong, like the vowels and semi-vowels, to the sonants; the sibilants to the surd or hard. Every thin and every medial letter has its corresponding aspirate. The aspirates are pronounced, like their

^{*} No native scholar would read these as bhaavan or kudhan, as the text affirms, but bha-avam, kudham, agreeably to the final # represented by Anusvâra.—Editor.

respective non-aspirates, with a clearly audible h; thus, for example, **પ** th, not like the English th; **u** ph, not f or φ; and **u** kh, not like the Greek χ.* In an etymological point of view it is important to observe that the aspirates of different organs are easily exchanged with each other; thus, **u** thar, **u** thar, (**u** thri, **u** thri, § 1.) "to bear," "to hold," are perhaps originally identical. **unu** thûma-s, "smoke," is, in Latin, fumu-s. In Greek, θάνω, as well as φένω, is related to **un** han, from **un** than, "to kill." The Gothic thliuhan is the German fliehen, Old High German vliuhan.

13. The first class is that of the gutturals, and includes the letters \mathbf{x} , \mathbf{k} , \mathbf{n} , \mathbf{g} , \mathbf{g} , \mathbf{k} , \mathbf{n} . The nasal of this class is pronounced like the German n before gutturals, as in the words *ninken*, enge, so as to prepare for the following guttural. In the middle of words it is only found before gutturals; and, at the end, supplies the place of \mathbf{n} when the following word begins with a guttural.† We write it without the distinctive sign, as its guttural nature is easily recognised by the following consonant. The aspirates of this class are not of frequent use, either at the beginning or end of words. In some Greek words we find χ in the place of \mathbf{x} th: compare $\delta \nu v \xi$, $\delta \nu v \chi - o s$, with nakha, "nail;" $\kappa \delta \nu \chi \eta$, $\kappa \delta \nu \chi \gamma s$, with sankha, "shell;" $\chi \alpha i \nu \omega$, $\chi \alpha \nu \omega$, with sankha, "to

^{*} The original here adds—"We designate the aspirate by a comma, as t', d', b'." The use of such a mark is, however, unsightly, and appears likely to cause occasional perplexity and doubt. It seems therefore preferable to adhere to the usual mode of expressing the aspirated letters, as dh, bh, and the like. It is only necessary to remember that th and ph are the letters t and p with an aspiration, and not the th and f of the English alphabet.—Editor.

[†] A careful examination will perhaps show that the several nasals of the Sanscrit alphabet are mere modifications of one sound, according to the manner in which that is affected by a succeeding letter; and that the modifications prevail equally in most languages, although it has not been thought necessary to provide them with distinct symbols.—Editor.

dig." As regards the sonant aspirates, the \P gh of gharma, "heat" (in Greek $\theta \epsilon \rho \mu \eta$), has passed into the aspiration of another organ; \P gg laghu, "light," has laid aside the guttural in the Latin levis, and, in virtue of the i, changed the u into v. The guttural has kept its place in the German leicht, the English light, and the Old High German lihti.

14. The second class is that of the palatals; and includes the sounds ch and j, with their aspirates and nasal. We write च ch, च chh, च j,* क jh,* म n. This class is an offshoot from the preceding, and to be considered as a softening of it. It is only found before vowels and weak consonants (semi-vowels and nasals), and before strong consonants; and at the end of a word generally retires into the class from which it springs. Thus, for example, the वाच् vach, "speech," "voice" (i.e. vox), makes, in the uninflected nominative, बाक् vák; in the instrumental and locative plurals, वानिभस् vag-bhis, वाख् vakshu. In the kindred languages we have to look for, in the place of the letters of this class, first, gutturals; next labials, on account of their mutual affinity; thirdly, the sounds of t, as, according to pronunciation, the first element of the palatals is a t or d; fourthly, sibilants, as being the last element in the letters of this class. Compare प्यामि pachami, "I cook," (inf. paktum, part. pass. pakta), with coquo, πέπω (πέπτω, πέττω, πέσσω); বারু chatur, "four," nom. The chatedras, with quatuor, τέτταρες, τέσσαρες, Gothic fidvor, Lithuanian ketturi; पद्म panchan, "five" (nom. accus. pancha), with quinque, πέντε, πέμπε, Gothic fimf, Lithuanian penki; राजन rajan, "king," with rex, regis; राजत rajata, nom. rajatam, "silver" (from raj, "to shine"), with argentum, ἄργυρος; जानु jānu, "knee," with genu, γόνυ. With regard to the aspirates of this class, the chh, as an initial letter in some words, answers to sc, σκ; दिनास chhind-

^{*} The original has g and g'; but the appropriate symbols in English are j and its aspirate.

mas, "we cleave," fath chhinadmi, "I cleave," answers to the Latin scindo; and chhâyâ, "shadow," to the Greek σκιὰ. As the terminating letter of a root chh answers, in πa prachh, "to ask," to the Gothic h in frah, "I or he asked," to the Latin and German g in frage, rogo, in case that the latter, as I suspect, is a modification of progo. The nasal of this class, for which we require no distinctive sign, as it only precedes palatals, deviates but slightly from the sound of the guttural n, and is pronounced nearly like ng.

15. The third class is called that of the linguals or cerebrals, and embraces a peculiar kind of sounds of t, together with its nasal; a kind not original, but which has developed itself from the ordinary class of t sounds. We distinguish them by a point under the letter, thus, zt, zth, zd, द dh, ज् i. In the Prakrit this class has obtained great supremacy, and has frequently supplanted the ordinary t. It says, for example, भोड़ bhôdu, for भवतु bhavatu, " let it be;" and पदम padhama, for प्रथम prathama, "the first." With regard to the nasal, the substitution of ख for न is nearly universal. The Indian Grammarians approach the Prakrit nearer than the Sanscrit, when at the beginning of roots they use the same substitution. The practice, also, which we have condemned (§ 9.), of using Anusvâra for म् m, at the end of words, is more Prakrit than Sanscrit. At the beginning of words these letters are never found in Sanscrit, but they are found as terminations to a certain number of roots; for example, we at, "to go." They are pronounced by bending back the tongue against the roof of the mouth, by which a hollow sound is expressed, as if from the head.* The nasal of this class has sometimes overstepped the limits of its usual laws: it is found before vowels, which

^{*} Here, also, it may be doubted if similar modifications of the dental sounds are not discoverable in languages which do not express them by separate symbols. The t of the Italian tutto is the Sanscrit z.—Editor.

is not the case with the nasals of the preceding classes; yet never at the beginning of words.

16. The fourth class embraces the dentals, or the sounds which properly answer to the common d and t, together with the common n, which belongs to them, n t, w th, दु d, ष dh, न n. Of the aspirates of this organ, we have to remark, that with, in an etymological respect, never—at least in no instance of which we are aware—is represented in Greek by θ , but always like the natural t, by τ . On the other hand, \mathbf{v} dh does correspond to θ , which also sometimes represents & d. Thus the imperative ending & dhi, in Greek becomes θ_i ; **reg** madhu "honey," "wine," is μέθυ; ενιση dadhâmi, " I place," τίθημι; εξεπζ duhitar (εξεη duhitri, § 1.) "daughter," θυγάτηρ; τη dvar, f. and dvara, neut. (nom. dvaram) "door," θύρα; देव dêva, Lithuan. diewas, "God," Θεός. With regard to the hard aspirate, compare the terminations re and rov with with and we than the first in the plural, the second in the dual of the present and future; στήσω with ευτευτία sthasyami, "I shall stand"; όστέον with with asthi, "bone"; in the Latin, rota with रष ratha, "carriage"; and in the Gothic, the ending t, in the second person singular of the preterite, with tha; for example, vais-t, "thou knewest," with वेत्य vêt-tha. From the beginning of words in the Sanscrit this aspirate is nearly excluded.

17. The interchange of d and l is well known. Upon it, among other instances, is founded the relation of lacryma to δάκρυ, δάκρυμα. In Sanscrit, also, an apparently original \(\text{\clip}\) d often corresponds to the l of kindred European languages; for example, \(\text{\clip}\) dip, "to light," \(\text{\clip}\) dipa, "lamp," becomes λάμπω, λαμπάς; \(\text{\clip}\) \(\text{\clip}\) deha, "body," Gothic leik. On this relation also rests, as I have shewn elsewhere, the relation of our lf, Gothic lif, in elf, zwölf, Gothic tvalif, to \(\text{\clip}\) dasan, δέκα. As also the second consonant has undergone alteration, and has migrated from the gutturals

into the labials; and as, moreover, the number "ten," taken alone, is, in Gothic, taihun, in German zehn, its origin from lif was deeply concealed; and even the Lithuanian lika, which accompanies the simple numbers in their compounded forms from eleven to twenty, remained long under my notice without result. The fact, however, that one and the same word can, in the course of time, assume various forms for various objects, proved, as it is, by numberless examples, requires no further support. With respect to the affinity of λίκος in ἡλίκος, &c., and of the Gothic leiks in hvêleiks, "like to whom?" to the driśa, Prakrit fett "like," I refer the reader to my Treatise on the Pronoun and its influence (Berlin, published by Dümmler); and only remark, in addition, that by this analogy of λίκος, leiks, I was first led to that of lif to δέκα; while the Lithuanian lika had not yet attracted my observation.

18. The labial class comes next, namely, \(\pi_p\), \(\pi_p\), \(\pi_b\) भ bh, म m. The hard aspirate ph is among the rarer letters; the most usual words in which it occurs are, we phala, "fruit," पेन phêna, "foam," and the forms which come from the root we phull, "to burst, blow, bloom." sonant aspirate & bh belongs, together with & dh, to the most frequent of the aspirates. In the Greek and Latin, ϕ and fare the letters which most frequently correspond to this भ bh, especially at the beginning of words; for example, a bh is also often represented by b in Latin, especially in the middle of words. The f of fero becomes b in certain compounds which rank as simple words with a derivable sussix, as ber, brum, brium, in words like saluber, candelabrum, manubrium. Thus the f of fu appears as b in the forms amabam, amabo, which I have detected as compounds, and which will be hereafter explained. The dative and ablative termination plural भ्यस् bhyas, becomes bus in Latin. nasal of this class, π m, is subject, at the end of a word, to several alterations, and only remains fast before a pause, a

vowel, or letters of its own class: it otherwise governs itself according to the nature of the following letters, and may pass, in this manner, into any of the four preceding nasals, and weakens itself into the softened nasal sound of the proper Anusvâra, if followed by a semi-vowel, a sibilant, or the softened nasal and the proper Anusvâra, if followed by a semi-vowel, a sibilant, or the softened nasal. It is, however, not beseeming, when, in editions of a text otherwise conspicuous for accuracy, we find though protected in its original condition by a pause, or by the following letters, written as Anusvâra.

19. The semi-vowels follow next: य् y, र् r, स् l, व् v. distinguish y by the sound of our German j, or the English y in the word year. As the Latin j in English has the sound of a softened g, so in Prakrit $\forall y$ often passes into $\forall j$; and in Greek, upon this exchange of sound rests the relation of ζεύγνυμι, ζυγός, &c. to the युद्ध yuj, "to bind," and that of the verbs in άζω to the Indian verbs in wanta ayâmi; for ζ is ds, but the sound dsch is not to be looked for in Greek. The relation of the Persian جوان juvan, "young," to the Sanscrit Thema युवन yuvan, Lat. juvenis, belongs to this place. By v we here designate the sound of the German w and English v. After consonants, as न्यान् tvâm, "thee," this letter takes the pronunciation of the English w. The occasional hardening of the v into a guttural deserves mention here; thus, in Latin, vic-si (vixi), victum, spring from viv; and in facio I recognise the Sanscrit causal आवयानि bhâv-ayâ-mi, "I make to be," from the root \(y \) bhû. connection between fac-tus and fio is practically demonstrated. Refer back, in the Old and Modern Greek, to the occasional hardening of the Digamma into γ . (C. G. Schmidt in the Berlin Jahrbuch, 1831, p. 613.) The voice cannot dwell on v or y; and the two letters \mathbf{q} and \mathbf{q} are therefore, as in the Semitic languages, excluded from the end of words: therefore the word दिव div, "Heaven," forms its nominative, which ought to be div (as divs is forbidden,

see §. 94.), into an dyb. Nominal roots in y do not exist.

It at the end of a word is subject to many alterations, and is interchangeable with as. In places where the concluding s, by favour of the following letter, is retained, becomes as; and, on the other hand, remains unaltered in places where as becomes are, namely, before vowels and sonant consonants.

20. The semi-vowels, by reason of their tractable and fluent nature, are easily interchanged. For instance, in the more recent Sanscrit works हा । often stands for र r. " We often, also, find in the cognate European languages l for v. On this interchange is founded the relation of the Latin suffix lent (for instance, opulens), and of the Gothic laud (a)-st (see §. 116.), in hvėlauds, "quantus," svalauds, "tantus," samalauds, "just so much," to the Sanscrit चना vant (in the strong case, §. 129.), in words like unque dhanavant, "endowed with wealth," तावन्त tâvant, "so much," यावन्त yâvant, "how On the change between v and r is founded, as I believe, the relation of the Old High German pir-u-mês, "we are" (sing. pim भवामि bhav-å-mi), to भवामस् bhav-å-mas; as also that of scrir-u-mes, "we shriek," to आवयानस् śrâvayd-mas, "we make to hear" (§. 109.); as also that of triusu, " I fall," from the root trus, to the Sanscrit ध्यंस् dhvans, "to fall."! The semi-vowel l is also exchanged with the nasals; thus, चन्यस् anya-s, "the other," becomes alius in

^{*} It is scarcely correct to say "often," as the instances are rare: nor are they restricted to recent works. Menu has aslika for asriku.—Ed.

[†] Grimm (iii. p. 46) admits lauds, "great," as an adjective; which, as far as the Gothic at least is concerned, might be dispensed with, as it is of the greatest antiquity as a suffix, and does not appear alone as an adjective, even in later periods.

[‡] Dh, according to § 16, = the Greek 9; and the 9, according to §. 87, is answered to by the Old High German t. The u of trus, from the old a, may be produced by the influence of the r, or of the dropped nasal.

Latin, and white antara-s, "the other," alter; चद् vad, "to speak," answers to the Gothic lathon, "called," "invited," ga-lathon, "called together"; will dhma, "to blow," answers to flare. (§. 109.) Compare, also, balbus with βαμβαίνω.

21. The last class embraces the sibilants and $h: \Re s, \Re sh$, ₹ s, and ₹ s. The first sibilant is spoken with a slight aspiration, and usually written by the English sh.* It belongs to the palatal class, and thence supplies the place of the third or proper # s when a hard palatal # ch or # chh follows; for instance, रामण् चरीत râmas charati, instead of रामस् चरीत râmas charati, "Râmas goes." By its origin, n sappears to be a son of k; and in Greek and Latin we find κ and c regularly corresponding to the Sanscrit n s. The Gothic substitutes h in pursuance of the law of change of sound; but the Lithuanian stands the nearest to the Sanscrit with reference to this letter, and has in its stead a sibilant compound sx, pronounced like sh. Compare decem, δέκα, Gothic taihun Lithuan. dészimtis, with दशन् dasan (nom. दश dasa); canis, κύων, Gothic hunds, Lithuan. szuo (gen. szuns), with भान śvan (nom. मा śvā, gen. जुनस śunas, κυνός), "dog;" δάκρυ, lacrima, aszara, f. with wy aśru n. "tear;" equus (=ecous), Lith. aszwa f. "mare," with जा aśva (nom. जापास aśvas), "horse;" szaka f. with siai śákhá f. "bough." The Lith. szwenta-s, " holy," answers to the Zend μριμέδω spěnta (§. 50.). At the end of a word, and in the middle before strong consonants, 🧝 s is not allowed, although admitted as an euphonic substitute for a concluding we before an initial hard palatal. Otherwise ns usually falls back into the sound from which it appears to have originated, namely, k. In some roots, however, n s passes into z !; for instance, an dris, " seeing," and fast vis, "a man of the third caste," form, in the uninflected nominative, इद drik, विद vit. The second sibilant, **q** sh, is pronounced like our sch, or sh in English, and

^{*} More usually \$; the sh is reserved for the cerebral sibilant.—Editor.

belongs to the lingual class. It often steps, according to certain rules into the place of # s; thus, for instance, after $\mathbf{z}, \mathbf{z}, \mathbf{z}$ never follows, but only $\mathbf{z} \mathbf{s} \mathbf{h}$; and the ξ, \mathbf{z} , in Greek and Latin, are regularly represented by w ksh. Compare हिंद्या dakshina, with dex-ter, de ξίος, Lithuanian dészine, "the right hand." Of the vowels, i, u, and ri, short or long, are averse from # s, to which a and a alone are inclined. After the first-named vowels, स् s passes into च्; for instance, तनोच् tanôshi, instead of तनोसि tanôsi (extendis). As an initial, म् sh is extremely rare: the Indian grammarians, however, write the roots which, under certain circumstances, change स् । into **u** sh, from the first with a **u** sh. A word which really begins with **q** sh is **qq** shash, "six;" to which the Lith. szeszi, a plural nominative, answers most nearly, while other cognate languages indicate an original ordinary s. At the end of a word, and in the middle before other strong consonants, such as z t, z th, z sh is not permitted, but in most roots passes into \mathbf{z} \mathbf{k} , but with some into \mathbf{z} \mathbf{t} : the number six, mentioned above, becomes, in the uninflected nominative, षर् shat.

22. The third sibilant is the ordinary s of all languages, but which, at the end of Sanscrit words, holds a very insecure position, and by certain rules is subjected to transmutation into \(\frac{\psi}{\psi} \) \(\frac{\psi}{\psi} \), \(\frac{\psi}{\psi} \) \(\frac{\psi}{\psi} \) and \(\psi \); and only remains unaltered before t and th. We write, for example, सूनुस् तरीत sûnus tarati, "the son passes over," but तरीत सूनु: tarati sûnuh, सूनुम् चर्रात sûnus charati (it), सूनुर् भवति sûnur bhavati (est). This sensitiveness against a concluding # 8 can only have arisen in the later period of the language, after its division; as in the cognate languages the concluding s remains unaltered, or where it has been changed for r does not return into its original form. Thus, in the decree against Timotheus (Maittaire, §. 383-4.), ρ everywhere stands for ς: Τιμόσεορ ὁ Μιλήσιορ-παραγινόμενορ-λυμαίνεται τὰρ ἀκοὰρ τῶν νέων, &c. The Sanscrit could not endure r before t. The Latin protects the s usually at the end of words; but in the classical period generally sacrifices it, when between two vowels, to the r; for instance, genus, generis, for genesis; a contrast to forms found in Varro and Festus, such as plusima, fædesum, meliosem, majosibus, in which the s evinces its original existence in the history of the language (see §. 127.). The accusative form arbosem, recorded by Festus, is more startling, for here r is the original form, if, as I can hardly doubt, arbor, arbos, is related to the word of such frequent occurrence in the Zend-Avesta, www.) urvara, "tree." This expression is not wanting in the Sanscrit, (squurvara;) but it signifies, according to Wilson, "fruitful land," and land in general.

23. \mathbf{z} h belongs to the letters which, in Sanscrit, are never admitted at the end of words, or in the middle before strong consonants. In these places it passes, by certain rules, into ξ i, ξ d, ξ k, or η g. In Greek we often find χ in the place of the Sanscrit ξ h: compare χειμών, hiems, with few hima, "snow," "rime;" χαίρω with επιθ hrish-yami, gaudeo; χήν with ten hansa, "goose;" χθές, heri, with ten hyas, "yesterday;" ὅχος with चह vah, "to go," "to travel." We also find κ, c for h: compare καρδία, cor, Gothic hairlo, with τς hrid (n. हृद्य hridaya), "heart." We sometimes, but rarely, find the spiritus asper substituted for h; for instance, $\alpha i \rho \epsilon \omega$, हरामि harami, "I take away." The Lithuanian exhibits sometimes sz for h; for instance, asz, "I," for wen aham, szirdis f. "heart," for Eg hrid. This letter stands sometimes in Sanscrit for a mutilation of other aspirated consonants, of which the aspiration alone has been suppressed; thus, instead of the imperative ending fu dhi, we generally find hi; on which account the grammarians accept fe hi, and not fu dhi, as the original ending, and assume that hi passes into dhi, for euphonic reasons, after consonants. The root us grah, "to take," is written in the Vedas un grabh, and answers thus more nearly to the German greifen, and the Persian giriften. We give here a general view of the Sanscrit characters, with their respective values.

VOWELS.

च a, चा a, इ i, ई î, उ u, अ û, चा ri, चा ri.

ANUSVÂRA AND VISARGA.

 \dot{n} , $\dot{a}h$.

CONSONANTS.

| Gutturals | स kh, | ग g, | ₹gh, | 5 n. |
|-------------------------------|-------|---------------------|-------|-------------|
| Palatals | Tchh, | च <i>j</i> , | 晒jh, | म n. |
| Lingual | th, | z d, | ਫ dh, | ग n. |
| Dentalπ t, | च th, | ह d, | ₹ dh, | न n. |
| Labial | ₽ph, | ▼ <i>b</i> , | ¥ bh, | Ħm. |
| Semi-Vowels য y, | | | | |
| Sibilants and Aspirates, w ś, | च sh, | स 8, | ₹ ħ. | |

The vowel characters given above are found only at the beginning of words; and in the middle or end of a word are supplied in the following manner: wa a is left unexpressed, but is contained in every consonant which is not distinguished by a sign of rest (\) or connected with another vowel. \(\begin{align*}
\begin{align*}
\begin{al thus read ka; and k by itself, or the absence of the a, is expressed by are expressed by f, i, and the first of these two is placed before, the second after, the consonant to which it relates; for instance, fa ki, al ki. For Tu, Tû, चा ri, चा ri, the signs v, a, e, e, are placed under their consonants; as, & ku, & kû, & kri, & kri. For & e and & di, and are placed over their consonants; as, a ke, a koi. बो ô and बो âu are written by omission of the ब, which is here only a fulcrum; as, को kô, की kâu. The consonants without vowels, instead of appearing in their entire shapes, and with the sign of rest, are usually written so that their distinctive sign is connected with the following consonant; for instance, for म, स, स, we have 7, क, द; and thus matsya is written मह्य, not मत्स्य; for ज् + घ् we have ज्; and for क् + घ् we have ख.

- 25. The Sanscrit letters are divided into hard or surd, and soft or sonant. Surd are, all the tenues, with their corresponding aspirates; and in fact, according to the order given above, the first two letters in each of the first five rows, also the three sibilants. Soft are, the medials, with their aspirates, the the nasals, semi-vowels, and all vowels. Another division also appears to us convenient—that of the consonants into strong and feeble; in which the nasals and semi-vowels come under the denomination of feeble; the remaining consonants under that of the strong. The weak consonants and vowels exercise no influence, as initial letters of inflections and suffixes, in the formation of words, on the terminating letters of a root; while they themselves are compelled to accommodate themselves to a following strong consonant.
- 26. With regard to the vowels, it is of consequence to direct the observation to two affections of them, of frequent occurrence in the development of forms of Sanscrit; of which the one is called Guna, or virtue; the other Vriddhi, increase or augmentation. My predecessors in grammatical inquiry have given no information as to the essence, but have only expounded the effects of these vowel alterations; and it was only in my critical labours upon Grimm's German Grammar that I came upon the trace of the true nature and distinctive qualities of these affections, as also of the law by which Guna is usually produced and governed, and at the same time of its hitherto undetected existence in the Greek and Germanic, and, most conspicuously, in the Gothic. views in this particular have since derived remarkable confirmation from the Zend, with relation to which I refer to §. 2, in which, as I flatter myself, I have dealt successfully with an apparent contradiction to my explanation. consists in the putting forward of a short a, and Vriddhi in

that of a long one: in both, however, the a melts into a diphthong with the primitive vowel, according to certain euphonic laws. ξi , namely, and ξ , melt with the ξa of Guna into ए e; उथ, अर्थ, into को b. These diphthongs, however, dissolve again before vowels into अय ay and खब् av; खा ri and खा ri become, in virtue of the action of Guna, war, by that of Vriddhi, war ar. As in Greek the short Sanscrit a is frequently replaced by e; so we find the Guna here, when a radical ι or υ is prolonged by the appearance of an e. As in the Sanscrit the root ₹i, "to go," forms, by the Guna modification, en émi (from a-imi), "I go," in contrast to imas, "we go;" thus, in Greek also we have $\epsilon i \mu i$ in contrast to $i \mu \epsilon \nu$. As the root $\mathbf{q} \mathbf{q}$ budh, in several tenses in the three numbers, rises, in virtue of Guna, into बोध bódh (from baudh), for instance, बोधानि bódhámi, "I know;" so in the Greek the root φυγ (ἔφυγον), in the present becomes φεύγω. In the Gothic, in the strong form of Grimm's 8th and 9th conjugations, the radical vowel, strengthened by a in the singular of the preterite, stands in the same contrast to the i and u of the plural, as is the case in the corresponding tense of the Sanscrit. Compare baug, "I bent," in contrast to bugum, "we bent," with the Sanscrit form of the same signification, singular नुभोन bubhôja, plural नुभीनम bubhujima, of the root भूज bhuj; compare vait, "I know," in contrast with vitum, "we know," with the Sanscrit forms of the same signification, वेद vêda (from vaïda), विदिम vidima, from the root विद् vid, "know," which, like the corresponding Gothic and Greek root, employs the terminations of the preterite with a present signification.

27. We have, however, the Sanscrit Guna in yet another form in the Gothic—a form which I have but lately discovered, but of which the historical connection with the Sanscrit modification appears to me not the less certain. I once thought that I had accounted in a different manner for the relation existing between biuga, "I bend," and its root

bug, and I conceived myself bound to ascribe generally, in the present tense, to the prevalent i of terminations a retro-active influence. It now, however, seems to me indisputable that Grimm's 8th and 9th conjugations of the first class correspond to my first Sanscrit conjugation (v. 326.); so that the Guna a of the special tenses has been weakened to i, while the monosyllabic preterite maintains the Guna vowel in the more important shape of a; just as in the 10th, 11th, and 12th conjugations, according to Grimm's division, the radical a, which has remained in the preterite singular in the present and other tenses, is weakened to i; so that, for instance, at, "I" and "he eat," corresponds to the root at ad, "to eat;" but in the present, at stands in place of the form

28. The Zend possesses, besides the Sanscrit Guna, which has remained everywhere where it stands in Sanscrit, a vowel application peculiar to itself, which likewise consists in & a, and which was first observed by Mr. E. Burnouf. The vowels which admit this addition in the interior, but not at the end of words, are, first, the short si, su, bo; 2dly, the Guna diphthongs $x \in A$ and $y \in A$. The two latter are the most usually befriended by this addition, and n ê takes it in all cases where the opportunity occurs, both as an initial letter, and even at the end of words wherever the dependent particle we cha, "and," is appended to it; hence, for example, נענלשן "nairê, "homini," אנאלשן âthrê, "igni"; but ωρωνω, naraêcha, "hominique," ωρων ω áthraêcha, "ignique." Also where an é stands in two consecutive syllables, an a is placed before each. Hence, for instance, עמשעמנוננט The only case in which, aétaéibyő, from स्तेभ्यस् étébhyas.

^{*} It would be difficult to adduce a better instance of the phonetic deficiencies of our English alphabet than this sentence, in which I am forced to translate the present and past tenses of essen by the same characters. What foreign student could guess or remember that the one is pronounced eet, the other ett?—Translator.

excepting the actual end of the word, n & remains without the preceding wa, is when it is produced by the influence of a μο y, out of μ a or μι a. We say, indeed, ψυμομο yaéibyó, "quibus," from चेभ्यस yébhyas; but not μυναμιμω dyalse, but www. dyese, "I sanctify," from the Sanscrit root, which has been lost, for the verb un yas, from which यज्ञस् yaśas, "glory." Yet we find, for अवट yêzi, "if" (i.e. यदि yadi), sometimes, though perhaps erroneously, also sauce yaêzi. The addition of the wa, before $\psi \delta$ is just as unlimited, but the occasion is far less frequent. Examples of it, are, by a aozo, "strength," from बोजस ôgas; क्ष्रिश्टिश्ट kĕrĕnaô!, "he made," from my kri, according to the fifth class, for want akrinot; φψω mrast, "he spoke," from wain abrot, which, if regular, would be used instead of wardin abravit (Gramm. Crit. r. 352.) We also find செல் mraôm, "I spoke," for आमोन् abrôm, as we should say, if, in the Sanscrit adjunct tenses, as in the Greek, a mere nasal, and not जन् am, were the suffix of the first person. The vowels si and su are much more sparing in their attraction of the & a now in question: they refuse it always at the beginning of words, and in the middle before two consonants; and if transferred from the end of a word to its middle, by an adventitious termination or word, they do not acquire the capacity of being wedded to an عد a. We say, for example, وجون imem, " this " (accus.), not באסטנגע aiměm; אנסטנגע mithwana, "a pair," not אנגט שענלנצל *maithmana*; שנגל gairibyô, " montibus," not ψυλικο gairaiby6. The , u also, for regular reasons, very frequently abstains from the & a; for instance, ψηλ, urunô, (animæ,) not ψηλλ, uraunô, from איין, urvan; on the contrary, און מער (נוע tauruna, "young," from new taruna. Where, however, the Sanscrit 3 u is replaced by $\oint o$ (§ 32.), an u a is placed before it, as well at the beginning as before two consonants; and in this case, bo stands in this respect in the same category as nê

and \$ \(\delta \). Compare \$\quad \(\delta \) raoch, "light," with \$\quad \(\text{ruch} \); \$\quad \(\delta \) \(\delta \) saochantain (lucentium) with \$\quad \quad \quad \text{uchya-tam} \); \$\quad \(\delta \) \(\delta \) aocta, "he spoke," with \$\quad \quad \quad \text{ukta}\$, which I form, by theory, after the analogy of \$\quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \text{khipta}\$ (Gram. Crit. r. 389.), leaving out the augment.

29. In the Vriddhi modification, the vowels ξ_i , ξ_i , melt with the preceding we δ_i into ξ_i into ξ_i ; ξ_i and δ_i , into ξ_i into ξ_i . The simple vowel we, as also the diphthongs ξ_i and ξ_i o, which, in virtue of Guna, would produce the same effect as by Vriddhi—for a+a, like δ_i+a , makes δ_i ; $a+\delta_i$, like $\delta_i+\delta_i$, makes δ_i ; $a+\delta_i$, like $\delta_i+\delta_i$, makes δ_i and thereby are capable of only one higher modification, reserve this one for cases where grammatical laws demand the highest step, namely, Vriddhi, and remain in the cases of Guna unaltered, unless extraordinary grounds of exception occur. It may be convenient here to give a connected summary of the results produced by Guna and Vriddhi.

30. We now proceed to the exposition of the Zend writing, which, like the Semitic, proceeds from right to left, and towards the comprehension of which Rask has contributed valuable corrections, which give the language an appearance more natural and more in consonance with the Sanscrit than

^{*} According to original Grammars the Guna letters are a, e, o; the Vriddhi a, ai, au; the two first, a and a, being severally substituted for the vowel sounds of $\dot{r}i$, lri, in combination with the semi-vowels r and l, as ar, al, ar, al.—Editor.

it assumed in the hands of former commentators, Anquetil's pronunciation having admitted much that was heterogeneous, especially in the vowels. We follow the order of the Sanscrit alphabet in giving the corresponding value of each letter in the Zend. The Sanscrit short wa has two, or rather three, representatives; the first is w, which Anquetil pronounces as a or e, but Rask, certainly with truth, limits The second is ξ , which Rask pronounces like the short æ of the Danish, or like the short German ä, as in Hände, or as a in cane in English, and e in the French après. I consider this ξ as the shortest vowel, and write it \check{e} . We often find it between two consonants connected in the Sanscrit; for instance, אנגעלשנע dadaresa (pret. redupl.), for the Sanscrit द्द्र dadarśa, "he" or "I saw;" בעבן בענך צאנעניג daděmahî (V. S. p. 102), "we give," for the Veda form दसिस dadmasi. This shortest ĕ is also always appended to an originally terminating r. Thus, for instance, rantarě, "between," בשקעלץ datarě, "giver," "creator," שיאש hvare, "sun," stand for the corresponding Sanscrit forms जनार् antar, दातर् dâtar, खर् svar, "heaven." It is worthy also of remark, that always before a terminating ξ m, and generally before a terminating η n, and frequently before an intermediate vowelless w n, the older w a becomes ς ĕ. Compare, for instance, ξελόν puthrĕ-m, "filium" with gan putra-m; אבשאן anh-ĕn, " they were," with चासन् dsan, नैजवर; ६६०,५५६७ hent-em, "the existing one," with सन्तम् sant-am, præ-sentem, ab-sentem. This retro-active influence of the nasal reminds us of the shortening power of the Latin termination m; as, for instance, stem, stemus (Sansc. तिष्ठेयम् tishthey-am, तिष्ठेम tishthema.)

31. Anquetil entirely refuses to admit into his alphabet a letter differing but little from the $\xi \, \check{e}$ above discussed, but yet distinct from it by rule in practice, namely, ξ , which Rask teaches us to pronounce like a long Danish α . We find this letter usually in connection with a following) u,

and this vowel appears to admit only this & before it, with the exception of the long w 4. We write this & e without the diacritic sign, inasmuch as we represent the so, like the Sanscrit z, by ê. Eu ; corresponds etymologically to the Sanscrit with δ , or diphthong formed by we a and Tu; thus, for example, the nominal stems in u, which in the Sanscrit genitive, by the influence of Guna, i.e. by the prefixing of a short a, make θ -s, make, in Zend, who eus. compare, for instance, ωρξωνώ paseus with पश्रोस pasos, from paśu, "pecus." And yet the Sanscrit 6 does not universally become eu in Zend, but often remains as it is, and specially in cases where it arises out of the termination as, by the solution of the s into u. According to its pronunciation,) e eu would appear to be a diphthong, and equally to form but one syllable, as in our German words heute, Leute, &c. The long a (A) is written w.

- 32. Short and long i are represented, as are long and short u, by special characters, s i, s i, s u, s u: Anquetil, however, gives to the short i the pronunciation e, and to the short u(s) that of o; while, according to Rask, only b is pronounced as short o. This short o frequently holds the etymological place of the Sanscrit v u, and never corresponds to any other Sanscrit vowel. For the diphthong in particular, we have generally the Zend zw do: we yet find, sometimes, also sw du; for instance, we may gaus bos is more frequent than we mo gaos, for the Sanscrit it gaus.

which we often find b o substituted by the neglect of copyists—or by the above-mentioned $j \in eu$, which, according to rule, before a terminating $a_i \in eu$, which, according to rule, before a terminating $a_i \in eu$, which, according to rule, before a terminating $a_i \in eu$, which is unheard of in the Zend. For the Vriddhi diphthong $a_i \in eu$ (out of a + u) we generally find $a_i \in eu$, for which there is a special character $a_i \in eu$; more rarely $a_i \in eu$ $a_$

34. Anusvâra and Visarga do not exist in Zend, unless we admit the nasal specified in §. 61 as answering to the sound of the Sanscrit Anusvâra. We proceed meanwhile, for the present, to the proper consonants. The first letter of the Sanscrit guttural class has divided itself into two characters bearing reference to different functions, 9 and 5; of which the first, which we represent by k, only appears before vowels and » v; the other, which we write c, precedes especially consonants, excepting » v. Compare, for instance, ψη kô, wη kâ, τουη kai (quis, quæ, quid), τος ερνω hakerei, "once," εκτοίτι, "he made," μ» κοα, "where," with को kô, का kû, किम् kim, सकृत् sakrit, करोति karôti, and क्क kva: on the other hand, איינעט ceathra, "king," with kshatra; אפלסאנ hicti, "pouring out" (V. S. p. 198), with सिक्ति sikti (from सिच् sich). In what mannner the pronunciation of this & c differs from that of the 9 k can indeed hardly be defined with certainty: it is probably softer, weaker than that of the 9 k fenced in by no strong conso-Rask selects for it the character q, without observing that this letter prefers only to precede consonants, and in this position always corresponds to the Sanscrit & k. nouf considers of as an aspirate, and writes weakfolder He writes, on the other hand, the letter w, which Rask treats as an aspirate, with q. Burnouf has not yet given his reason, which I think, however, I can guess, namely, that σ c is found before r, which, according to

Burnouf's just remark, generally confers an aspirate upon a preceding consonant. I consider this reason, however, as insufficient; and think that σ c stands before r, because, as we have before remarked, all consonants, v excepted, only admit before them that modification of the k sound which is expressed by S. It would be impossible for ? r, and the other letters of similar agency, to convey aspiration to the preceding hard guttural if a kh be not extant in Zend; so that, for instance, the root an khan, "to dig," sounds euclidean in Zend. There are, however, some words in which with is represented by S. From khara, "ass," we find the accusative felicities carem; and we find, also, the स kh of सांच sakhi, "friend," replaced by c; the accusative, for instance, सनायम् sakhāyam transformed into हा अधिक It may therefore remain a question whether 9 k or Ø, in respect of their sounds, have the better right to be referred to **\(\kappa_k \)**; but this much is certain, that **\(\kappa_k \)** before vowels and before $\forall v$ is only represented by φ in Zend; before other consonants only by S; which latter we shall, till better advised, continue to render by c.

35. Anquetil ascribes to of the value of so, and to both the pronunciation kh; while Rask considers the latter alone, by reason of the aspiration stroke which he recognises, as aspirated, and compares it to the Spanish x and the Arabic \dot{c} , and our German ch. Burnouf renders so by q; and observes (l. c. p. 345) that the Sanscrit syllable \dot{c} sva becomes qa in Zend, namely, in \dot{c} svapna, "sleep," written, according to Burnouf, qafna, and in \dot{c} sva (suus) "his." We are inclined to add to these examples, we saw khanha, (nom.) accus. \dot{c} examples khanhrem, from \dot{c} suppose khanha, (soror); \dot{c} and \dot{c} svashram (sororem); and \dot{c} sister," (soror); \dot{c} are svashram (sororem); and \dot{c} suppose khareno, "splendour," as related to \dot{c} svar, "heaven," and \dot{c} sur, "to shine." We must, however, at the same time, remark, that \dot{c} sv does not universally become \dot{c} skh, and that \dot{c} sva in particular, in an isolated position and with a possessive

signification, much oftener appears in the shape of www hva, or that of when have. We render to by kh, and in regard of its aspiration lay more stress than on Rask's mark of aspiration on the fact, that in modern Persian it corresponds frequently to $\dot{\boldsymbol{\varepsilon}}$, our ch. This modern Persian $\dot{\boldsymbol{\varepsilon}}$ is pronounced, indeed, at present, without aspiration, like an Italian c before a, o, u; but its value in Arabic, and the choice of this letter, so powerfully aspirated in the Arabic to designate a special guttural sound, in true Persian words seems to indicate an intrinsic stronger or milder aspiration. is derived from the Sanscrit es sva, it was not applied to replace the **a** k before letters, which would without it produce an aspiration. It may also be here convenient to remember that either u or v (\mathfrak{I}) accompanies the Persian $\dot{\mathfrak{I}}$ when the latter replaces at the beginning of a word the Sanscrit es. It is true that, v is no longer sounded before long vowels, but it must originally have had its influence on the pronunciation, and cannot have been introduced into writing entirely without object, and for the mere employment of the copyist. Compare \int khoda, "God," with exact svadatta, "self-given;" for which, in Zend, we have, under a more regular participial form (see Gramm. Crit. r. 608), שעששעש khadata; which Anquetil, or his Parsee teacher, always understands in the sense of, "given through God," deceived, probably, by the resemblance of sound to خدا choda; while Neriosengh properly translates it by स्वयन्द्र svayandatta. The Persian من is, however, as Burnouf correctly assumes, actually related to the Zend שעששעט khadâta, so as to bear its ground for its name in the idea, "created by itself," and in its form has been mutilated of one syllable. That, however, as has often been maintained, our word "God" is really related to اخدا khoda, and that its primal signification has thus been discovered through the Zend, we are forced still to doubt. We will here only call to mind that the Germanic forms, especially in the older

dialects, are, by rule, much more approximate to the Sanscrit than to the modern Persian. es, in particular, in the Gothic, either remains unaltered, or becomes sl (§. 20). The pronominal syllable es sva exhibits itself in the Gothic as a pronominal adverb, sva (so) "thus;" and with an instrumental form, svě (wie) "how." The neuter substantive svés (Thema svesa) means. Eigenthum "property," as in Sanscrit the neuter es sva. I know of no certain form in which a Germanic g or k corresponds to a Sanscrit es, or a Persian \dot{z} . To return, however, to the Persian \dot{z} khu= \overline{z} sv: compare خواب khuften, "to sleep," with सप svap; kh(v)ab, "sleep," with साप svapa; خواندن kh(v)an-den, " to sing," with सन evan, " to sound;" خواهر kh(v)aher, " sister," with अम् svasr, Gothic svistar; خرشين khur-schid, "sun," Zend ¿ www hvarě, with to svar, "heaven." In some words \leftarrow corresponds to a Sanskrit k before r, in which position the Zend loves an aspiration; in the modern Persian, however, a vowel intrudes between the guttural and the r; thus, خرامیدن khirâm-îden, " to proceed with pomp," corresponds to the Sanscrit kram, "to go," "to step;" and خريلن khiriden, "to buy," to the Sanscrit equivalent root The Persian z answers to the Sanscrit aspirated ₹ kh, in the word ⇒ kher, "ass" (Sansc. ₹ khara).

36. The guttural ¶, and its aspirate ¶, are represented by ℘ g and g gh. The Sanscrit ¶ gh has, however, sometimes dismissed the aspiration in Zend; at least μς λωρ garĕma, "heat" (θέρμη and wärme), answers to the Sanscrit ¶ gharma: on the other hand, the μιο ghna in μιομλίς λείς νἔτἔτhraghna, "victorious," corresponds to the Sanscrit ¶ ghna at the end of composites; for instance, in ¶ ghna hat the end of composites; for instance, in ¶ ghna, "enemy slayer." The Zend μιομλίς λείς νἔτἔτhraghna properly signifies, like the word so often used in the same sense μιςμλίς λείς νἔτἔτhra-zan, "killer of Vritra," and proves a connection between the Zendish and Indian mythologies, which, however, in consequence of the obscuration

of meanings in Zend, and the oblivion of the old Myths, now only exists in affinities of speech. "Killer of Vritra" is one of the most usual titles of honour of the prince of the lesser gods, or Indra, who, from his slaughter of the dæmon Vritra, of the race of the Dânawas, bears this name.

We shall discuss the nasals apart in §. 60.

- 37. Of the Sanscrit palatals the Zend has only the tenuis; namely of (=), and the media, namely of (=): the aspirates are wanting, which is not surprising, as they are of rare occurrence in the Sanscrit. The following are examples: specify charaiti, "he goes," Sansc. The following are examples: specify charaiti, "he
- 38. The modification of the sounds of t, peculiar to the Sanscrit, contained in the third row of consonants, is wanting in the Zend. We pass, therefore, to the ordinary sounds These are, $\varphi t(\pi)$, $Gth(\Psi)$, of that letter, the dentals. d (表), odh (我), together with a! (內), peculiar to the Zend, of which more hereafter. The ot is like the guttural which we represent by k (9), in this respect, that its position is almost limited to one preceding vowels. 7 r and w m, and sometimes before ssy, in order to gratify the affection of the latter for an aspirate, the aspirated Gth steps in. Thus, for instance, could threain signifies "thee," while the nominative is written 6,00 tûm, and the genitive www tava; and the word how atar, "fire," nom. שקעלע atars, makes, after rejection of the a which preceded r, wigni," pulsu åthrat, "ab igne," &c. If, however, the t be protected by a preceding consonant,

excepting in, the succeeding half-vowel is thereby deprived of its retro-active power. We find, for instance, אָענטאָגי vaštra, not אַענט vašthra, "garment," "vest"; but we have which manthra, "speech," not who mantra, from the root puf man. At the end of a word, and, which rarely occurs, before strong consonants, (§. 25.) at the beginning also, and middle of a word, the Sanscrit' (7) is represented by a special letter, namely, by p, which we, with Burnouf, write t, but formerly wrote with a simple t undotted below, because no change is possible with cor G. Rask represents it by th, because he recognises the sign of aspiration. I am unable, however, to assent to the universal validity of this sign of Rask's, and I incline to rejecting the aspirate, as in Sanscrit, from the end of words. We should also remember that the diphthong & is written as well as w; the last, which prevails at the end of words, with a stroke similar to that which distinguishes our p from p. Before consonants, for instance, in the word ψωνυρφ !kaêshô, the sounding of th would be more precarious than that of t, in case this th did not somewhat partake of a sibilant sound. I think, however, that p t has merely a feebler pronunciation than p t, and is, so to say, the last breathing of t; as, in Sanscrit, s and r, at the end of words, are diluted to Visarga (§. 11.); and as π t, in Prâkrit, and also in Greek, is, at the end of words, altogether suppressed.

39. 4 is the ordinary d ξ, and ω according to Rask's just remark, its aspirate dh. This represents the Sanscrit w dh, for instance, in the imperative ending for The Zend, moreover, favours ω dh for 4 d in the middle of words between two vowels. We find, for instance, wows dâta, "given," but squay dadhâmi, Sanscrit ξξιβι dadâmi, "I give;" and wowsyske mazda-dhâta, "given by Ormusd," "created;" some yêdhi, "if," Sanscrit पξ yadi; wows pâdha, "foot," Sansc. पξ pâda.

40. The labial class embraces the letters δp , δf , $\perp b$,

and the nasal of this organ &, of which more hereafter. ϑ p answers to the Sanscrit Ψ p, and is transformed into If by the retro-active aspiration power of a following r, m s, and n; whence, for instance, the preposition m pra (pro, πρό) becomes, in Zend, ωλλ fra; and the primitive words δω ap, "water" (aqua, and perhaps ἀφρός), δεθερ κἔτἔρ, "body," form in the nominative, who afs, wherefs; on the other hand, in the accusative, fedu apem, fede 19 kërëpëm, or Çedlueg këhrpëm. In regard to the power which resides in n of aspirating a p, compare your tafnu, "burning," from the root due tap, with the derivative from the same root אסאנענענע atâpayêiti, "he shines" (See Vendidad Sadeh, p. 333), and the plural בשעל נג csafna, " nights," with the ablative singular www.csaparat (Vendidad Sadeh, p. 330), in which, even in the root, the interchange between n and r is observable, as the same takes place in the Sanscrit between चहन ahan and चहर ahar," day." (Gramm. Crit. r. 228. annot.) Originally—i.e. standing for itself, and not proceeding from the ϑp by the influence described— $\int f$ is of very rare occurrence. In some instances known to me it corresponds to the Sanscrit & bh, which, however, for the most part, in the Zend has rejected the aspiration. In Anquetil's Vocabulary we find nafo, "navel," which in Sanscrit is written नाभि nåbhi; and in the fem. accus. plural, of frequent occurrence in the Zend-Avesta, માર્ગ માર્ય "very fortunate," "very excellent," also a title of Vishnu.

41. We come now to the semi-vowels, and must, in order to follow the order of the Sanscrit alphabet, discuss y in the next place, by which we express the sound of the German and Italian j, the English consonantal y. This half-vowel is written at the beginning of words by y or z, and in the middle by the duplication of the u y, as in the Old High German we find v expressed. This semi-vowel, and the vowels which correspond to it, z and z, introduce into the

preceding syllable an si; an interesting phenomenon, first observed by Burnouf (l. c. p. 340, 341.), and which in its principle is connected with the German vowel modification (§. 73). We are obliged to ascribe a similar influence also to the diphthong so & where it stands at the end of a word. Frequent occasion for this presents itself in the dat. sing. and the third pers. pres. of the middle verb. For instance, אנגלמ nairė, "homini," for אנגלמ narė, is frequent; but אנגלמאטן naraêcha, "hominique," is an exception. The vowels which, by the attractive power of the letters mentioned, are placed after si, are si, si, si, si, si, si, si, si, as to which we must also observe, that u, in the case of a succeeding i, is lengthened. Examples are : אנגסנע maidhya (אינס maidhya (אינס maidhya) "middle"; אנגלענע *nairya*, "man"; אנגשע bavaiti, "he is"; ενομισμό dadhâiti, "he gives"; ενομισμομι âtâpayêiti, "he shines"; κἔτἔποἰτί, "he makes"; κοιρου stûidhi, "praise," instead of solos studhi, from the root אפט stu (און); אין the fourth," from און chatur, with the **r** cha suppressed *; שנשפגלננע ahuirya, an adjective, derived from געשולע ahura. With regard to the influence of 33 y we must observe, that it does not mix up an si with a vowel immediately preceding, but only with one separated from it by one consonant; for if there be two, unless the first be y n, the retro-active power of y, i, or i is neutralized; thus sown asti, not sown aisti, stands for "he is"; on the other hand we have אנגעאָסןנ bavainti, Sansc. भवनि bhavanti, "they are." Several other consonants also resist simply this power of attraction; thus we have אנגשל dakhyu, not אנגשל daikhyu, "land," "province"; and the i of the personal terminations if mi and is hi, or shi, obtain no influence over the preceding syllable. In the same manner, in the first person plural, אגשנ mahi,

^{*} Or more immediately from the Sanscrit ordinal तुर्की turyya or तुरीय turiya, "fourth."—Editor.

not אנגשל maihi, corresponds to the Veda termination **मिस masi**; and in the genitive of the Stems, or inflective Bases, in א a, אנאשא a-hê, not אנאשא aihê, stands for **שועו** a-sya.

42. Is y sometimes also exerts that disturbing influence on a following x a or x a, which is equivalent to the insertion of a vowel, or of i, and consequently effects their transmutation into x a a a thus the Bases of nouns in a a a form, in

^{*} The expression of the text is "äußert umlautenden Einfluss." It is hardly possible to render into English without circumlocution certain terms which the philologers of Germany have invented and adopted to express the various modifications of the Indo-Germanic vowel; such as, Ablaut, Auflaut, Inlaut, Umlaut. Whether these terms have in themselves the virtue of suggesting to a Teutonic ear the particular modification of the vowel to which they are respectively applied may be doubted; but if to the student and the teacher they answer the purpose of a memoria technica, their use is fully justified by the necessity of the case, and the practice of a language which possesses a singular and inexhaustible power of progress and adaptation to exigencies. In our language, it seems to us that the uncouthness of such compounds as Upsound, Offsound, and Insound, could hardly be compensated by any advantage to be derived from their use; and we therefore purpose, in the course of this work, where any of these terms occur in the original, to retain them in their German shape. Of these terms, Ablaut and Umlaut are those which chiefly, if not alone, are used by our author. Inlaut is, we believe, merely the Sanscrit Guna. The meaning of the two former, and their distinction from each other, may best be explained by the following extract from our author's excellent work the Vocalismus, p. 10.

[&]quot;I designate," he says, "by the term Ablaut, a change of the root vowel, which is distinguished from the Umlaut by the fact that it is not produced by the influence of the vowel of the termination; for Umlaut is a mere affection, disturbance (Trübung) of the primary sound, through which that sound becomes more homogeneous with the vowel of the termination; while in the Ablaut, without any recognised external cause, it makes room for another, and, in general, totally different sound; as in Gothic, nima, 'I take'; nam, 'I took.' I say, without any recognised external cause; because I think I can shew that the Ablaut also is produced by the particular quality and condition of the termination. Whether, however, we seek for the radical vowel in the present or the preterite, the

the genitive, שימשטש yê-hê, instead of אינעשטש ya-hê; and, with the verb, the old Sanscrit य ya or या ya of the fourth and tenth classes, in the present singular becomes ين يعره يؤه Compare Հեռյյավատա atapayémi, Հառյյավատա atapayéhi, שפענעגטע dtapayeiti, with the Sanscrit שוחועשוות atapayami, जातापयसि âtâpayasi, जातापयति âtâpayati. last syllable, sy before & m, according to rule, becomes ; i; and after the same analogy, fun vam becomes fy ûm. We find therefore, for instance, وداره tirim, " quartum," from אנאלאס tuirya; and לאנאיל thrishum, "tertiam partem," နောက္လောက်လေး chathrushum, "quartam partem," from သောဆာဒါဇ thrishva, אאט chathrushva. This appearance is to be thus understood, that the antecedent semi-vowel, after the suppression of the a, passes into its corresponding vowel, which, however, according to the rule of §. 64, must be a long The 33 y, after its influence has transformed w a into ש e, is often itself suppressed; thus we find אנוענעמענעמ frådaésaém, "I shewed," out of प्रादेशपन् prådésayam, which, according to the rule of the tenth class, would be formed

Further illustration of these latter remarks are to be found in the Note 4, which Professor Bopp has appended to the above passage of the Vocalismus.—Trans.

change is equally one quite different from that of the Indian Guna or Vriddhi, and in this respect, that it is a positive change; while in Sanscrit the root vowel is not in fact changed, but only receives an increment, and that increment always one and the same, with which it diphthongizes itself, as in Greek, and v with e, herow, herow. In respect of signification, likewise, there is a difference between the Indian Guna and Vriddhi and Germanic Ablaut; for the Ablaut has acquired for itself a significatory power for grammatical purposes, even if, as I conjecture, it did not originally possess such: the contrast between the present and the past seems to rest upon it, and there are indications that the latter is expressed by this change. In Sanscrit, Guna and Vriddhi present no indication of this significatory power, but, merely in the character of diphthongizing modifications, accompany those inflections which do signify grammatical relations."

from fixed dist. The genitive termination was appears everywhere reduced into we he. The semi-vowels 33 y and » v are generally suppressed after preceding consonants; and thus, also, the imperative ending was gives up its v.

44. We have already remarked (§. 30.) with respect to 7 r, that at the end of a word an $\xi \check{e}$ is always appended to it; for instance, swows dâtare, "Creator," "Giver"; ציישיש hvarě, "Sun," instead of שישש dâtar; איש hvar. In the middle of a word, where an wh is not introduced according to \\$. 48, the union of 7 r with a following consonant is mostly avoided; so, indeed, that to the originally vowelless r an \check{e} is appended: thence, for instance, אנעג dadaresa, out of दहजा dadarea, "vidi," "vidit"; or the r is transposed, in the same manner as is usual in the Sanscrit for the avoidance of the union of ξ r with two following consonants. (Gram. Crit. r. 34b.) Hence, for instance, אשאלעאע *athrava*, "priests" (nominative), accus. עט מאלע אינן athravanëm, from the thema שאלע מען atharvan, which in the feeble cases (§. 129.) contracts itself into ענאר (נון athurun or אוטער (גער (נון athaurun. (\\$. 28.) To this, also, pertains the fact that polysyllabic Stems (or uninflected Bases) in & ar, at the beginning of compounded forms, transpose this syllable into w? ra; and thus what athra, "fire," stands instead of hudu athar." The combinations

^{*} By Stämme, the author here evidently means the crude derivative words

45. It is worthy of remark, that in the Zend the l is wanting, as in Chinese the r, while, nevertheless, it exists in the modern Persian, and shews itself in words which are not of Semitic origin. The Sanscrit \mathbf{v} has three representatives in the Zend, φ , », and ∞ . The two first are so far distinguished from each other in their use, that & corresponds to the Sanscrit v only at the beginning, and » only in the middle of words; for instance, ६००० vaêm, "we," = चयम् vayam, אארע tava (tui) = אד tava. This distinction, as Rask justly assumes, is only graphic. of, which I, with Burnouf, render by m, most frequently occurs after 6 th, so that » never accompanies an antecedent 6. On the other hand we find » much oftener than of after the aspirated medials of this class. Perhaps the law here obtains that the odh, which, according to \S . 39, stands for d (ξ), is only followed by \gg , while an original and, corresponding to a Sanscrit w dh, only appears in conjunction with w. Thus, emotion dadhwao, "having created," "given," from the root we da, answers to the Sanscrit nom. Esse dadván; while the accusative, of frequent occurrence in the Vendidad, fe adhvaněm, seems to be identical with the Sanscrit चडवानम् adhvånam, "viam." (Vend. Olsh. p. 18.) After other consonants than 6 th and odh, of w appears not to be admitted, but only

words which serve as Stems or Bases to inflected words, or those in combination with inflectional terminations; thus, âthra for âthar, forms âthrava, âthravaněm, not âtharva, âtharvanam, &c.—Editor.

» v; on the other hand, of w much prevails between two i's or si and ssy, in which position » v is not allowed. we read in the Vendidad (Olsh. p. 23.), the nominatives אנגעטנא drivis, "beggar," (?) and אנגעטנא daivis, "a worshipper of Daêva." בענ שני daiwis however, as derived from daéva through the suffix s i, seems to me dubious, and I prefer the variation בנמש daévis. Or is it between é and i also that of w only can be allowed? Another instance is, ψισος ω ainyô, " aquis," as dative and ablative plural; an interesting form which long remained a mystery to me, but which I am now in condition to explain. It springs from the root du ap, "water" in such a manner, that after suppression of the p,* the Sanscrit termination van bhyas, which elsewhere, in the Zend, appears only as ψυς, byô, has weakened itself to \$3300 myô, and, according to \$. 41, has introduced an si into the Base. Another instance in which भ bh has weakened itself in the Zend into a semi-vowel, and obtained the form of m in virtue of its position between two נוצאס i's, is the very common preposition אנצאס aini, for which, however, مريد abi is sometimes substituted. be appropriate here to remark that \(\mu \) oh appears in the Zend, in other company, in the enfeebled shape of » v. We find, namely, the Base so ubha, "both," not only in the shape אנא uba, but also in that of אשל aova (§. 28.), the neuter dual form of which I think I recognise in the Vend. S. p. 88., where မျာမှာရသော များမေး များသည္ များမေး aooê yasnô ameshe spente, can hardly signify any thing else than "ambos venerans Amschaspantos" (non conniventes Sanctos, see Nalus, vv. 25, 26.) Anquetil interprets (T. 3. p. 472.) ové, by "tous We have still another position to mention, in which the semi-vowel ∞ m appears, namely, before \mathcal{I}_r , in which connection, the softer w is more appropriate than the harder

^{*} Compare, in this respect, was abhra, "cloud," for was ab-bhra, "water-bearing," and the Zend μφελεία ab-bearer."

» v. The only example of this case is the feminine which we believe we recognise the Sanscrit ys subhra, "glancing." As to the pronunciation of the of w, I think, with Burnouf, that it accords with the English w, which also is akin to the Sanscrit v after consonants. Rask reverses the powers, pronouncing the Zend of as the English v, and the letters φ and φ as the English ψ .

46. I have not detected in the v and w a power of attraction similar to that which belongs to the 33 y, as described in §. 41, unless the term שעת/ שענ haurva, "all," which often occurs, as well as אָנעטע višpa, is derived from the Sanscrit सर्व sarva, "all." I have, however, already elsewhere ascribed to the corresponding vowel , u a power of attraction, howbeit sparingly exerted; in virtue of which, for instance, the root אין atarvan, "priests," in the feeble cases (see §. 129.), after that put van has contracted itself into /) un, by the influence of this u, also converts the a of the preceding syllable into u; hence, for instance, in the dative, שאָעליננש aturune for אויין מעניננש atarune. Sanscrit הבּה taruna, "young," is, in Zend, אולונגע turuna or אנילון tauruna (§. 28.); and **वसु** vasu, "thing," "riches," has, by the influence of the concluding u, converted itself into popp vohu.

47. Burnouf was the first to remark on the fact, peculiar to the Zend, that the semi-vowels are fond of communicating an aspiration to a preceding consonant; and we (§. 40.) have ascribed a similar influence to we and find ourselves compelled to assign the same also to the

^{*} The accusative (\$100) siuwraim, appears in Olshausen, p. 13, with the variation (\$100) siufraim. (\$. 40.) Then we often find the instrumental association siuwrya, for which, however, we must read association siuwrya, if siuwrya be not derivable from a Theme plant siuwri, after the analogy of सुन्द्री sundari, from सुन्द्र sundara. (Gramm. Crit. r. 270.)

labial nasal, by which, for instance, the female participle argul jagmushi has changed itself to specific jaghmushi. The dental medial is free from this influence, for we find was dva, "two," was drucs, "a demon," (accus. feurla drujëm,) not was dhrucs, feurla dhrujëm. The guttural medial is, however, exposed to this influence, as in the abovementioned instance of jaghmushī. We have, on the other hand, adduced, in §. 38, a limitation of this appearance. The aspirating virtue of the ssy is less potent than that of the dr and wo we and we find y often preceded by the unaspirated t; for instance, in was bitya, "the second," was differently a, "the third": on the other hand, we have associated the structure. Sansc. It mrityu.

48. In connection with the above rule stands the phenomenon, that before r, when followed by any consonant not a sibilant, an h is usually placed; for instance, where r is marked, "death," from the root he mar, (r mri,) "to die"; (r) be seen the root he freeze here. "the body" (nom. where he kerefs); he well, we here the body "(nom. where he kerefs); he well," (r) vereka, or he fore vowels, sometimes attracts an when thus, he had the same that the fore vowels, sometimes attracts an when the sanscrit from the headya, "through thee," corresponds to the Sanscrit from the word had because as the same comments of the same co

49. We come now to the sibilants. The first, a palatal, pronounced in Sanscrit with a gentle aspiration, we which we express by s in Sanscrit, and s in Zend, is written s in the latter. Its exact pronunciation is scarcely ascertainable. Anquetil assigns it that of the ordinary s. It in general occurs in those positions in which the Sanscrit in corresponding words has its we s; thus, for instance, daśa, "ten," śata, "hundred," paśu, "beast," are common to both languages. In this respect s s has spread itself wider in Zend than in Sanscrit; that before several consonants,

namely, 0 t, 6 th, 9 k, and 1 n, as well at the beginning as in the middle of words—in the latter place, however, only after w a, w a, and w an—it corresponds to the Sanscrit dental or ordinary s . Compare Junus staro, "the stars," with सारम् staras; अर्पेम्मावा डेरविवेतां, "I praise," with स्तामि staumi; ງດາກາ asti, "he is," with जिस्त asti; နောင်သည asthanm, "ossium," with with asthi; Mayyaya skanda, " shoulder," (?) with shandha; سريس sna, " to purify," with wisha, "to bathe." We might infer from this circumstance that is was pronounced as a simple s, yet it may have to do with a dialectical preference for the sound sh, as happens with the German s in the Suabian dialect, and pretty universally at the beginning of words before t It is further to be remarked, that is so occurs also at the end of words after wan. The occasion for this presents itself in the nom. sing. masc. of Bases in py nt.

- 50. The semi-vowel » v is regularly hardened into d p after w i; hence, for instance, มฟม spā, "canis," ระวมฟม spāněm, "canem," มฟมมุ่ง višpa, "all," มฟมม ašpa, "horse," corresponding to the Sans. चा śvā, चान्न śvānam, विच višva, चान्न śvānam, विच višva, चान्न śvānam, विच višva, चान्न svānam, क्या ašva. มหมูะปม spenta, "holy," is not corresponded to by a Sanscrit चान śvanta, which must have originally been in use, and which the Lithuanian szanta-s indicates. From the Zend มฟมม ašpa, the transition is easy to the Greek รักทอร, which is less obvious in the case of the Indian aśva.
- 51. For the Sanscrit lingual sibilant $\P sh$, the Zend supplies two letters, M and RD. The first, according to Rask, is pronounced like the ordinary s, and therefore like the Sanscrit dental s R; while RD has the sound of RD = sh, and marks this by a stroke of aspiration. We therefore write it sh. Rask observes that these two letters are often interchanged in MSS.; which he accounts for by the circumstance that RD is used in the Pehlevi for sh, and that the Parsí copyists have been long better acquainted with the Pehlevi than the Zend. We find, also,

in the Codex edited by Burnouf, as almost everywhere corresponding to v. We recognise, however, from the text edited by Olshausen of a part of the Vendidad, and the variations appended, that although in etymological respects w as well as an corresponds to the Sanscrit , the principal position of we is before strong consonants (§. 25.) and at the end of words; a position of much importance in Zend, and which requires attention in the cases of other classes of letters. In this respect w resembles, among the dentals, p, t, among the gutturals & c, and among the nasals principally w. n. At the end of words, indeed, s corresponds to the Sanscrit as, but yet only after such letters as, in the middle of a word, would, after the 101st rule (a) of my Sanscrit Grammar, change an original π s into π sh; namely, after vowels other than a and d, and after the consonants d c and f r. Hence, for instance, the nominatives שנענע paitis, "Lord," שנענע ש pasus, "beast," אינטש atars, "fire," אינטש drucs, "dæmon," from the thema wy druj. On the other hand, www. barans, "bearing," from אול barant* In the word אטא covas, "six," it is true a terminating אי s stands after a; but it does not here replace a Sanscrit # s, but the original \mathbf{q} sh of $\mathbf{q}\mathbf{q}$ shash. As evidence of the use of \mathbf{w} s for \(sh\) before strong consonants, we may adduce the very usual superlative suffix ωρως ista (i.e. ιστος), corresponding to the Sanscrit st ishtha. Other examples are wowly karsta, "ploughed," for אינגענען In the word שעגנענען אויי sayana, "camp," we stands irregularly for we s, which latter was to be anticipated from the Sanscrit ज्ञयन sayana (i.e. saété, §. 54). In the fem. word of number المدسدالية tisaro, "three" (Olsh. p. 26), the w might seem questionable, for the Sanscrit form is fact tisras, and a according

^{*} I retain here the original t, since the Thema of the word does not appear in use. c t must otherwise have been changed for c t.

- §. 53, becomes w h. The A, however, here is in a position (after z i) in which the Sanscrit favours the conversion of x s into y sh; and on this rests the Zend form blance tisarô. That it does not, however, stand as blance tisharô, as we might expect from §. 52, is certainly not to be ascribed to the original existence of u a, for blance tisarô stands for blance tisrô.
- 52. pp stands for the Sanscrit webefore vowels and the semi-vowels ענט y and » v; קענאשאט aêtaêshanm and ມ> முற்றவர்க்க aétaéshva, with स्तेषाम étéshâm, "horum," and स्तेषु eteshu, "in his"; પ્રાયુક્ષ્ય mashya, "man," with मनुष्य manushya. Yet with does not unite itself with an antecedent & c; but for the Sanscrit w ksh we find almost everywhere in Olshausen's text, and without variation, שעט כא; hence, for instance, אלישעט csathra, " king," Sansc. The kshatra, "a man of the warlike or royal caste." The word of frequent occurrence, which is connabna, and the third person connected with it, κοικινωξυμικώ cshnaômayêiti, we must, on a double ground, reject, and prefer the variation given at p. 33, since we here is prolonged, as well by the preceding c as by the following n. It is, however, worthy of remark, that the Sanscrit waksh in many Zend words abandons the guttural, and appears as we sh. For instance, दिश्या dakshina, "dexter," becomes فلالتجديد dashina (Lithuan. dészinè, "the right hand"), and wfa akshi, "eye," becomes אנגאָאנ ashi, which, however, seems only to occur at the end of possessive compounds (Bahuvríhi).
- 53. wh is never, in etymological respects, the representative of the Sanscrit ξ , but of the pure and dental sibilant ξ s. Before vowels, semi-vowels, and m, in Zend, this letter invariably becomes w, possibly because ξ sv (§. 35.) takes the shape w kh; while before n, and such consonants as cannot unite with a preceding h, (§. 49.) it is to be looked for in the shape of w s. The roots which begin with ξq sp and ξq sph have not yet been detected by me

in the Zend; but I am convinced that equippris, for instance, "to affect," could not begin otherwise in Zend than with $\delta \omega sp$. Compare, for instance—

BANSCRIT. we ha, "they," **s**â. ມທຸຈາກ hapta, "seven," sapta. सम neg zeww hakeret, "once," सकृत् sakrit. चसि वहां. געשג ahi, "thou art," געקעעג ahmāi, "to this," चस्ने asmai. खर svar, "heaven." ελω» w hvarě, "sun," איש hva, "his," sva.

The word $n \gg j \approx hizea$, "tongue," from fratifihva, deserves mention, because the sibilant quality of the m j is treated as m s, and replaced by w h (§. 58.).

54. I do not remember to have met with an instance of the combination by hr; the Sanscrit word use sahasra, "thousand," which might give occasion for it, has rejected the sibilant in the last syllable, and taken the shape אראבענענע hazanra. If, in the word אין אינאנע huska, "dry," Sansc. शुरु, & replaces the Sansc. न & we must remember that the Latin siccus indicates a Sansc. \(\mathbf{x} \) s, because c regularly answers to \sqrt{s} . In many instances of Sanscrit roots beginning with a s, the corresponding Zend form may be grounded on the change which is effected on an initial w by the influence of certain prepositions. (Gramm. Crit. r. 80.) Thus I believe I have clearly ascertained the existence of the Sanscrit participle faz siddha, "perfected," in the term of frequent occurrence in the Vendidad femusian shaistem; after the analogy of שנים irista, "deceased," from לוב irith (see §. 99.) Olshausen notifies (p. 29) the variations of shaistem -shaistem, shaistim, shaistim, and shaistem. In all these forms, the long a presents a difficulty; for, according to §. 28, विष् shidh would give the form ويسيع shaidh; and this, with the suffix ta, אין shaista, in the nom. and accus. neut.

Germany shaistem. What Anquetil (vol. II. p. 279) translates, Juste juge du monde qui existe par votre puissance, vous qui êtes la pureté même, quelle est la premiere chose qui plaise a cette terre (que nous habitons), et la rende favorable runs in the original (Olshausen, p. 29. Burnouf, p. 137) ξηλώνω μης . Εγμιμα ξηγρωμοκομική μετα καιμανίτη μετα μετα gaêthanaim actuaitinaim ashâum! kvà paoirim anhâo zemô shâistem? "Creator mundorum existentium, pure! ubi (quid) primum hujus terræ perfectum (bonum?")

55. The nominative pronominal Base स sya (Gramm. Crit. r. 268), in the Veda dialect, is under the influence of the preceding word; and we see in Rosen's specimen, p. 6, this pronoun, when it follows the particle τu , converted into we shya, after the analogy of rule 101° of my I have detected a similar phenomenon in the Zend pronouns; for we find no hê, "ejus," "ei," which is founded on a lost Sanscrit से sê (cf. मे mê, "mei," "mihi," and א tê, "tui," "tibi"), when it follows אינע yêzi, "if," taking the form now se (more correctly, perhaps, now she); for instance, at p. 37 of Olshausen: while on the same page we find שעמצאע של yêzicha hê, (und wenn ihm,) " and if to him." In the following page we find a similar phenomenon, if, as I can hardly doubt, عبيسة shāo (thus I read it with the variation), corresponds to the Sanscrit ससी asau ("ille," "illa"): અભ્યોગમ મહદીય આદ્ર દ્યાદ્વા દ્યાદ્ધ દ્રા દ્ર મુક્ Nôit zi îm zão shão yấ (text, zwz yão) daregha akarsta (text, אפעלעישן adarsta), " For not this earth which lies long unploughed."

ان الله الله bi of the present admits no nasal; and we find, for instance, איט ahi, "thou art," אינע bacsahi, "thou givest," not געלטאענישג anhi, אנעלטאעניש bacsanhi. The termination as, which in Sanscrit only before sonant consonants (§. 25.) and wa a, dissolves its w into w u, and contracts the latter together with the preceding a into $\hat{\mathbf{w}}$ $\hat{\mathbf{o}}$ (compare the French au, from al): this ancient termination as appears in Zend, as also in Prakrit and Pali, always under the shape of δ . On the other hand, the termination ds, which in Sanscrit before all sonant letters entirely abandons the s, in Zend has never allowed the concluding sibilant entirely to expire, but everywhere preserves its fusion in the shape of & o (for u); and I consider myself thereby strongly supported in a conjecture I enounced before my acquaintance with Zend *, that in Sanscrit the suppression of a terminating s after a had preceded the vocalization of this s into u. It is remarkable that where, in Zend, as above observed, an 3 n precedes the w h which springs out of the s of the syllable ds, or where, before the enclitic particle so cha, the s above mentioned is changed into s i, together with these substantial representatives of the s, its evaporation into bo is also retained, and the sibilant thus appears in a double form, albeit torpid and evanescent. To illustrate this by some examples, the Sanscrit मास् mås, "luna"—an uninflected nominative, for the s belongs to the root—receives in Zend the form cwf mão, in which o represents the Sanscrit s; and mas-cha, "lunaque," gives us אין māošcha, and नासन् māsam, "lunam," ער אַכּשיאַ maonhem; so that in the two last examples the Sanscrit sibilant is represented by a vowel and a consonant. The analogy of maonhem, "lunam," is followed in all similar instances; for example, for שוא מאב "fuit," we find איין פעטע donha, and for שואויף dsam, "earum," בשעשא donhanm †.

^{*} Observations, rule 78 of the Latin edition of Sanscrit Grammar.

[†] Burnouf is of a different opinion as to the matter in question, for in the

57. Two letters remain to be mentioned, namely, 5 and do, of which the former was probably pronounced like the French z, and may therefore be replaced by that letter. Etymologically this letter answers to the Sanscrit & h for the most part, which never corresponds to the Zend w h. Compare, for example,

BANSCRIT.

ZEND. चहम aham, "I," GESN azěm. પ્રાથમાટી zašta. हस्त hasta, "land," सहस sahasra, "thousand," אינעטענענע hazanra. हिना hanti, "he strikes." عدد بيرود zainti. पहित vahati, "he travels," עעצעעטע vazaiti. "bears." hi, "for," हि s zi. אין אינגא hizva, (§. 53.) जिद्धा jihvå, "tongue," ψως mazó (from mazas, महत् mahat, "great," acc. קצשבענגענן mazanhëm.)

58. Sometimes $\leq z$ appears also in the place of the Sanscrit πj ; so that the sibilant portion of this letter, pronounced dsch, is alone represented, and the d sound suppressed (see §. 53.) Thus שיעעצ yaz, "to adore," answers to the Sanscrit यज्ञ yaj; καρψως zaôsha, "to please," springs from the Sanscrit root जुड़ jush, "to please or gratify." Thirdly, the Zend z represents also the Sanscrit η g, which is easily accounted for by the relationship between g and j. The Indian gô, (accus. gám,) bos and terra, has, in Zend, as also in Greek, clothed itself in two forms; the first

the Nouveau Journ. Asiatique, tom. iii. p. 342, speaking of the relation of maonho to mananhô, without noticing the analogies which occur in cases of repetition, mâosh-cha, "lunaque," urvâraosh-cha, "arboresque," he says, "In mâonghô, there is perhaps this difference, that the ngh does not replace the Sanscrit s, for this letter has already become o in consequence of a change of frequent occurrence which we have lately noticed.

signification has maintained itself in Zend, but in Greek has given way to the labial; and βοῦς and μεμφ ghos, or μημφ ghus, correspond to the Sanscrit nom. The ghus. For the signification "earth" the Greek has preserved the guttural, which in Zend is replaced by z. The nom. εμς zho supposes an Indian form πε ghs, for πε ghus; in the accusative, εμς zanm agrees, in respect of inflection, as closely as possible with πε ghm and γῆν.

- so, we is of less frequent use, and was probably pronounced like the French j: we write it zh. It is observable, that as the French j in many words corresponds to the Latin semi-vowel j, and derives from it its own developement, so also sometimes, in Zend, & zh has arisen out of the Sanscrit \(\pi \) y. Thus, for instance, \(\pi \) yûzhēm. Sometimes, also, & zh has sprung from the sound of the English j, and corresponds to the Sanscrit \(\pi \) j, as in \(\) j & zhēnu, Sanscrit \(\pi \) jânu, "knee." Finally, it stands as a terminating letter in some prefixes, in the place of the Sanscrit dental \(\pi \) after i and u; thus, \(\sigma \) soundation nizhbaraiti, "he carries out"; \(\xi \) soundation dus-matem, "ill spoken": on the other hand, \(\xi \) soundation dus-matem, "ill thought."
- 60. We have still to elucidate the nasals, which we have postponed till now, because for them a knowledge of the system of the other sounds is indispensable. We must first of all mention a difference from the Sanscrit, that in Zend not every organ has its particular nasal; but that here, in respect of n, two main distinctions are established, and that these mainly depend on the circumstance whether n precedes a vowel or a consonant. In this manner, and we are so contrasted, that the first finds its place chiefly before whole and half-vowels, and also at the end of words; the latter only in the middle of strong consonants. We

find, for instance, stassal any way hankarayêmi, "I glorify"; any way pancha, "five"; ter wassing i bûshyantêm: on the other hand, w, na (nom.) "man"; why nôit, "not"; jessal barayên, "they might bear"; wassa anya, "the other." Concerning the difference between j and w—a difference not recognised in European alphabets—it is probable that w, being always fenced in by strong consonants, must have had a duller and more suppressed sound than the freer j; and by reason of this weak and undecided character of its pronunciation, would appear to have applied itself more easily to every organ of the following letter.

- 61. Still feebler and more undecided than w, perhaps an equivalent to the Indian Anusvâra, we conjecture to have been the nasal w, which is always involved with wa, and which seems from its form to have been a fusion of w and . We find this letter, which we write an, first, before sibilants, before wh, like the Anusvâra, and before the aspirates of the and δf ; for instance, we csayans, "regnans," accus. ຊະຕຸພູມມາງມາພຸໝ່ csayantem; ນຸງພາຊມາງຍາສູເງ zanhyamana, a part of the middle future of the root puz zan, "to beget," but, as seems to me, with a passive signification ("qui nascetur," Vend. S. pp. 28 and 103.); when manthra, "speech," from the root אול man; אול janfnu, "mouth," probably from the Sanscrit 朝東 jap, "to pray," Secondly, before a §. 40, and with the nasal inserted. terminating $\in m$ and f n. We have here to observe that the Sanscrit termination with always changed to For aim in Zend; for instance, from dadhaim, "I gave," Sanscrit प्रद्राम् adadâm ;- ६०१०००० pâdhananm, " pedum," Sans. पादानान pådånåm; and that the third person plural, ending जन an, provided the a do not pass into ĕ, always appears as a double nasal, ain.
- 62. For the nasal, which, according to §. 56, is placed as an euphonic addition before the wh, which springs from \mathfrak{R} , the Zend has two characters, \mathfrak{Z} and \mathfrak{L} , to both which

Anquetil assigns the sound ng.* We write them n, in order to avoid giving the appearance of a g preceded by a guttural n to this guttural, a nasal precursor of the following w h. As to the difference in the use of these two letters, g always follows a and do; \mathcal{L} , on the contrary, comes after i and e, for which the occasion is rare. For instance, in the relative plural nom. We \mathcal{L} $\mathcal{$

^{*} Burnouf also writes the first of these ng. I have done the same in my reviews in the Jahrbuch für Wissenschaft Krit.

The form in question is a contraction of the Thema public ashavan; with an irregular conversion of the concluding n into n.

65. We give here a complete summary of the Zend characters.

Simple Vowels: Na, ¿ě, ¿e; Má; si, şî;) u, bo, şû.

Diphthongs: w, n ê, s oi; su di; b ô, eu do, su du.

Palatals: p ch, y j.

Dentals: \emptyset t (before vowels and $\mathcal{J}\mathcal{J}\mathcal{J}$), $\mathcal{J}\mathcal{J}$ (before consonants and at the end of words), $\mathcal{J}\mathcal{J}\mathcal{J}$ (before whole and semi-vowels), $\mathcal{J}\mathcal{J}\mathcal{J}$, $\mathcal{J}\mathcal{J}\mathcal{J}$

Labials: δp , δf (the latter before vowels, semi-vowels, nasals, and ωs), δb .

Sibilants and h: w s, to sh, w s, to zh, 5 z, w h.

Nasals: , n (before vowels, semi-vowels, and ending words), wn (before strong consonants), wan (before sibilants, wh, of th, of, of, and of, n), on (between wa or cus do, and wh), on (between with or not, and wh), of m.

Remark also the Compounds ew for ww ah, and peu for pu st.

66. We refrain from treating specially of the Greek, Latin, and Lithuanian systems of sounds, but must here devote a closer consideration to the Germanic. The Gothic a, which, according to Grimm, is always short, answers

completely to the Sanscrit a; and the sounds of the Greek ϵ and o are wanting, in their character of degeneration from a, in Gothic as well as in Sanscrit. The ancient a has not, however, always maintained itself in Gothic; but in radical syllables, as well as in terminations, has often weakened itself down to i, or has undergone suppression; often, also, by the influence of a following liquid, has been converted into u. Compare, for instance, sibun, "seven," with the saptan; taihun, "ten," with the daśan.

- 67. We believe ourselves authorized to lay down as a law, that \mathbf{w} a in polysyllabic words before a terminating s is everywhere weakened into i, or suppressed; but before a terminating th generally appears as i. A concluding \mathbf{w} a in the Gothic either remains unaltered, or disappears: it never becomes i.
- 68. In the Old High German the Gothic a either remains unaltered, or is weakened to e, or is changed by the influence of a liquid to u = perhaps o. According to this, the relation of the unorganic e to the Gothic a is the same as that of the Gothic i (§. 66.) to \mathbf{u} a; compare, for instance, in the genitive of the bases in a, quet vrika-sya, Gothic vulfi-s, Old High German wolfe-s. In the dative plural wolfu-m stands to vulfa-m in the same relation as above (§. 66.), sibun to saptan. The precedence of a liquid has also, in Old High German, sometimes converted this a into u or o; compare plinte-mu(mo), creo, with the Gothic blindamma. after the German j or y, which in Sanscrit (\mathbf{z}, \mathbf{y}) belongs as a semi-vowel to the same class as r, the Old High German seems to prefer u to a; thence plintju, without j also plintu, "caca," as a fem. nom. sing., and the neuter nom. acc. voc. plural plinta, "cæcam." The u of the first person present, as kipu, "I give," Gothic giba, I ascribe to the influence of the dropped personal letter m. Respecting the degeneration of the original a sound to u compare also §. 66. the inseparable Old High German preposition ki (our

German ge) = Gothic ga, Sanscrit πsa or $\pi \pi$ sam, we have an example in which the Gothic-Sanscrit a has become i.

69. For the Sanscrit was d, the Gothic, which has no long a, almost always substitutes δ (§. 4.), and this δ , in cases of abbreviation, falls back into the short a. Thus, for instance, in Grimm's first fem. declension of the strong form, nom. and accus. sing. 6 is softened to a, thence giba, gib6-8 (§. 118.). Generally in the Gothic polysyllabic forms, the concluding $\mathbf{a} \in \mathcal{A}$ shortens itself into a; and where $\hat{\sigma}$ stands at the termination, an originally succeeding consonant has been dropped; for instance, in the gen. plur. fem. ô stands for any am. Sometimes, also, in the Gothic, & corresponds to the Sanscrit a, as in gen. plur. masc. and neut. In the Old High German the Gothic ô either remains such, as in gen. plur., or divides itself into two short vowels; and, according to differences of origin, into oa, ua, or uo; of which in the Middle High German, uo prevails; while in the Modern High German the two divided vowels are contracted into \hat{a} . For the Gothic $\hat{e} = m \hat{a}$, the Old, Middle, and Modern High German have preserved the old a, except in gen. plur.

as Grimm has sufficiently shewn, is everywhere to be considered as long *i*, and also in Old and Middle High German is represented by such. We, together with Grimm, and as in the case of the other vowels, designate its prolongation by a circumflex. In the Modern High German the long *i* appears mostly as *ei*; compare, for instance, *mein* with the Gothic genitive *meina*, and the Old and Middle High German *min*. Sometimes a short *i* is substituted, as in *lich*, answering to the Gothic *leiks*, "like," at the end of compounds. On the long *i*, in *mir*, "nos," Gothic *veis*, we can lay no stress, as we match the dat. sing. *mir* also with the Gothic *mis*. It is scarcely worth remarking that we

usually, in writing, designate the elongation of the i and other vowels by the addition of an h.

71. While the original a has undergone many alterations in the Germanic languages, and has produced both a and a, I have been able to detect no other alterations in a or a than that a is as often suppressed as a; but it never happens, unless some rare exceptions have escaped me, that a is replaced by a heavier vowel a or a. We may lay down as a rule, that, as a terminating vowel, a has given way in German everywhere, as it has generally in Latin. Compare,

| SANSCRIT. | GREEK. | LATIN. | GOTHIC. |
|-------------|--|--------|----------------|
| परि pari, | $\pi \epsilon ho i$, | per, | fair. (§. 82.) |
| उपरि upari, | $\dot{\upsilon}\pi\dot{\epsilon} ho$, | super, | ufar. |
| चिति asti, | ἐστί, | est, | ist. |
| सिना santi, | ἐντί, | sunt, | sind. |

German it is always a mutilation of the German j or y together with the following vowel; so that j, after the suppression of this vowel, has vowelized itself. Thus the uninflected Gothic accus. hari, "exercitum," is a mutilation of harja. The Sanscrit would require harya-m; and the Zend, after §. 42, meeting the Germanic half way, hari-m. Before a concluding s also, in the Gothic, \(\mathbf{t}\) is usually suppressed; and the Gothic terminating syllable is, is mostly a weakening of as, §. 67. In Old High German, and still more in Middle and Modern High German, the Gothic i has often degenerated into e, which, where it occurs in the accented syllable, is expressed in Grimm by \(\varepsilon\). We retain this character. We have also to observe of the Gothic, that, in the old text, i

^{*} The Sanscrit fun pitri, "father," probably stands for un patri, "ruler"; and the European languages have adhered to the true original. (Gramm. Crit. r. 178, Annot.)

at the beginning of a syllable is distinguished by two dots above, which Grimm retains.

- 73. As in Zend (§. 41.), by the attractive force of i, i, or y = j, an i is introduced into the antecedent syllable; so also, in Old High German, the corresponding sounds have obtained an assimilating power; and frequently an a of the preceding syllable is converted into e, without any power of prevention on the part of either a single or double consonant. Thus, for instance, we find from ast, "branch," the plural esti; from anst, "grace," the plural ensti; and from vallu, "I fall," the second and third persons vellis, vellit. This law, however, has not pervaded the Old High German universally: we find, for instance, arpi, "hereditas," not erpi; zahari, "lacryma," not zaheri.
- 74. In the Middle High German, the e, which springs from the older i, has both retained and extended the power of modification and assimilation; inasmuch as, with few limitations, (Grimm, p. 332,) not only every a by its retrospective action becomes e, but generally, also, d, u, and o are modified into a, ü, and ö; b into a, and uo into ue. Thus the plurals geste, drate, brüche, köche, lane, gruese, from gast, drat, bruch, koch, lon, gruoz. On the other hand, in the Old High German, the e which has degenerated from i or a obtains no such power; and we find in the genitive singular of the above words, gaste-s, drate-s, &c., because the Old High German has already, in the declension of the masculine i class, reduced to e the i belonging to the class, and which in Gothic remains unaltered.
- 75. The e produced in Old and Middle High German by the modification of a, is retained in the Modern High German, in cases where the trace of the original vowel is either extinguished or scarcely felt; as, Ende, Engel, setzen, netzen, nennen, brennen; Goth. andi, aggilus, satjan, natjan, namnjan, brannjan. Where, however, the original vowel is distinctly opposed to the change, we place ä, short or

long, from short or long a; and, in the same relation, \ddot{u} from u, \ddot{o} from o, $\ddot{a}u$ from au; for instance, Brände, Pfäle, Dünste, Flüge, Köche, Töne, Bäume, from Brand, Pfâl, &c.

76. For $\exists u$, $\exists \hat{u}$, the Gothic has u, which is generally short. Among the few examples cited by Grimm, p. 41, of long u, we particularize the comparative sutico, the essential part of which corresponds to the Sansc. साद् svadu, "sweet" $(\dot{\eta}\delta\dot{\upsilon}-\varsigma)$, and in which the long u may stand as a compensation for the absence of the v, which becomes vowelized. In Old High German it seems to me that plan, "to dwell," and trûên, "to trust," correspond to the Sanscrit roots भू bhû, "to be," भू dhrû, "to stand fast"—from which भूप dhruva, "fast," "constant," "certain" (Gramm. Crit. r. 51.) —to the Guna form of which (§. 26.) the Goth. bauan, trauan adjoins itself; i.e. भिवतुम् bhav-itum, "to be," धवितुम् dhrav-itum, "to stand fast." The Middle High German continues the Gothic Old High German 4, but the Modern High German substitutes au, whence bauen, trauen, Taube (Gothic dûbô).

77. As out of the Sansc. 3 u, in Zend, the sound of a short & has developed itself (§. 32.), thus, also, the Gothic u shews itself, in the more recent dialects, oftener in the form of o than in its own. Thus have the Verbs in the Old and Middle High German (Grimm's 9th conjug.) preserved a radical u in the plur. of the pret., but replaced it by o in the passive part. Compare, for instance, bugum, "we bend," bugans, "bent," with Old High German pukumês, pokanêr, Middle High German bugen, bogen. The example adduced shews, also, the softening of the old u to e, in unaccented syllables, in Middle High German as in Modern High German; so that this unaccented e can represent all original vowels—a, i, u; and we may lay down as a rule, that all long and short vowels in the last syllable of polysyllabic words, are either worn away or softened down to a mute e.

78. For the diphthongs $\mathbf{v} \in (a+i)$ and $\mathbf{v} \in (a+u)$, the Gothic has ai and au, which are also monosyllabic, and were perhaps pronounced like $\mathbf{v} \in and \delta$. Compare bavaima, "adificemus," with van bhavema, "simus"; sunau-s, "of a son," with its equivalent $\mathbf{v} \in au \in au$. Where these Gothic diphthongs ai and au have maintained themselves unaltered in value, they then appear, in writing, as $\mathbf{v} \in au$ and $\mathbf{v} \in au$ which must be considered as contractions of a+i and a+u; as in the Latin amemus, from amaimus (§. 5.); and as in the almost solitary case of $b\delta s$, the long au of which is the result of a contraction of a+u, whose latter element appears again before vowels in the independent shape of au (bovis, bovem), while the first element au, in its degeneration, appears as au (§. 3.). Compare,

SANSCRIT. GOTHIC. OLD HIGH GERMAN.
चोस charêma (eamus), faraima, varêmês.
चोत charêta (eatis), faraith, varêt.
तेम्पस têbhyas (his), thaim, dêm.

79. In like manner, in all conjunctives, and in the pronominal declension in which the adjective bases in a take part, an Old High German & corresponds to the Sanscrit & & and Gothic ai. The Middle High German has shortened this &, as standing in an unaccented terminating syllable (varen, varet). Besides this, the Middle High German has, in common with the Old High German, preserved the diphthong & where it stood in radical syllables

^{*} If, however, the Gothic diphthongs in question were not pronounced like their etymological equivalents $\nabla \hat{e}$ and $\nabla \hat{o}$, but, as Grimm conceives, approximate to the Vriddhi-change (§. 26.) $\nabla \hat{a}$ and $\nabla \hat{a}$ \hat{u} : in such case the High German \hat{e} , \hat{o} , as opposed to the Gothic a, a, are not merely continuations of these Gothic diphthongs; but the pronunciation assigned by the Sanscrit to the union of a with \hat{i} or u, must have been first introduced into the Germanic, under certain conditions, in the eighth century.

under the protection of a following u, r (out of the older s), or h(ch), even in cases where one of these letters had been dropped, or where u had vowelized itself into v or o. (Grimm. pp. 90. 343.). Compare,

| GOTHIC. | OLD HIGH GERMAN. | MIDDIÆ HIGH GERMAN. |
|----------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| aiv, "ævium," | êwîn. | |
| snaives, "nix," | snêo, | snê. |
| mais, "magis," | mêr, | mê. |
| laisjan, "docere," | lêran, | lêren. |
| laihv, "commodavit," | lêh, | lêch. |

In the Modern High German this \acute{e} is partly preserved, partly replaced; for instance, $m\acute{e}r$ ($m\acute{e}hr$), $Schn\acute{e}$ ($Schn\acute{e}e$). $S\acute{e}le$ (Gothic saivala) ich lieh, gedieh. (Grimm. p. 983.).

80. As the & for the Gothic ai, so the ô for au, in the Old and Middle High German, is favoured by certain consonants; and those which favour the 6 are the more They consist of the dentals (according to the Sanscrit division, §. 16.) t, d, z, together with their nasal and sibilant (n, s); further, the semi-vowel r; and h, which, as a termination in Middle High German, becomes ch. (See Grimm, pp. 94. 345.). The roots, which in the Gothic admit the Guna modification of the radical u through the influence of an a, in the pret. sing., oppose to the Gothic au, in Middle and Old High German, a double form; namely, & under the condition above mentioned, and next ou, §. 34, in the absence of the letter which protects ô. For instance, Old High German zôh, Middle High German zoeh (trazi, trazit), Gothic tauh, Sanscrit द्दोह dudoha (mulzi, mulsit); but pouc, bouc, flexi, flexit, Gothic baug, Sanscrit मुभोग bu-bhôga. The Modern High German exhibits the Gothic diphthong au, either, like the Middle and Old High German, as 6, and in a more extended degree, and subject to the modification of §. 75; or next, shortened to o, the particulars of which will be explained under

the verb; or, thirdly, as au; for instance, daupja, "I baptize," hlaupa, "I run"; or, fourthly, as eu, §. 83.

81. As Ulfilas, in proper names, represents both ϵ and α by ai, and likewise o and av by au (Paitrus, Galeilaia, apaustaulus, Paulus); and as, in the next place, not every Gothic ai and au in kindred dialects is represented in like manner, but in some cases the Gothic ai is replaced in Old High German by a simple i or ë, and au by u or o (§. 77.); but in the others, ai is replaced by ê, or (§. 85.) by ei, and au by 6 or (§. 84.) ou, therefore Grimm deduces from these facts a double value of the diphthongs ai and au; one with the stress on the last element (aí, aú), another with the stress on the a (ái, áu). We cannot, however, give implicit belief to this deduction of the acute author of the German system of sounds, and prefer assuming an equal value in all cases of the Gothic ai and au, although we might support Grimm's view by the fact, that, in Sanscrit, र रे, चो ó never replace his aí and aú, but everywhere, where occasion occurs, do replace ái and áu. We think, however, that the difference is rather phonetic than etymo-As concerns the ai and au in proper names, it may be accounted for, inasmuch as the Gothic was deficient in equivalents for these non-primitive vowels, which have degenerated from the original wa. Could Ulfilas have looked back into the early ages of his language, and have recognised the original identity of ϵ and o with his a, he would perhaps have used the latter as their substitutes. From his point of sight, however, he embraced the ai and au, probably because these mixed diphthongs passed with him as weaker than the long ê and 6, ejusdem generis, = It is important here to observe, that in Greek also αi is felt as weaker than η and ω , as is proved by the fact that αι does not attract the accent towards itself (τύπτομαι not τυπτόμαι). The expression of the Greek αι and αυ by the Gothic ai and au requires the less justification, because

even if ai was pronounced like e, and au like e, yet the written character presents these diphthongs as a still perceptible fusion of a with a following e or e.

82. As to the other statement, namely, that not every Gothic ai and au produces the same effect in the younger dialects, nor have the same foundation in the older Sanscrit, it might be sufficient to observe upon one feature of dialect peculiar to the Gothic, that h and r do not content themselves with a pure preceding i, but require it to be affected by Guna (§. 26.); thus, ai for i, and au for u; while other dialects exhibit the i and u before h and r in the same form as before every other consonant. The relation of the Gothic to their Sanscrit equivalents,

SANSCRIT.

COTHIC.

IIC.

saihs, "six," षष् shash, taihun, "ten," दशन् dasan, faihu, "cattle," पशु paśu, પશુ svasura, svairha, "father-in-law," taihsvo, "dextera," दिख्णा dakshinû, hairto, "heart," हर् hrid, (from hard, §. 1.) bairan, "to bear," भतुम् bhartum, distairan, "to tear," दितृम् dar-i-tum, stairno, "star," तास târâ.

is not so to be understood as though an i had been placed after the old a, but that, by the softening down of the a to i (§. 66.), the forms sihs, tihun, had been produced; out of which, afterwards, the Guna power arising from h and r had produced saihs, taihun, bairan. The High German has, however, remained at the earlier stage; for Old High German sehs, (Anglo-Saxon, "six,") and tehan or tehun, &c. rest upon an earlier Gothic sihs, tihun. Thus, tohtar rests on an earlier Gothic duhtar, for the Guna form dauhtar, Sanscrit freq duhitar, (freq duhitri, §. 1.) "daughter." Where the Sanscrit a has preserved itself in Gothic unaltered, that

is, not weakened to *i*, the occasion is absent for the development of the diphthong *ai*, since it is not the *a* before *h* and *r* which demands a subsequent addition, but the *i* which demands a precedent one; compare *ahtau*, "eight," with well ashtau."

83. The alterations to which the simple vowels have been subjected appear again in the simple elements of the diphthongs, as well in the relation of the Gothic to the Sanscrit, as in that of the younger Germanic dialects to the Gothic. Thus the a element of the diphthong \mathfrak{A} δ , shews itself often in the Gothic, and in certain places in a regular manner, as i (§. 27.); and in the same places the a contained in $\forall \ell (a+i)$ becomes i, which, with the second element of the diphthong, generates a long i (written as ei, §. 70.) The Gothic in has either retained that form in Old High German, or has altered sometimes one, sometimes Thus have arisen io, ëo. both of its constituents. is a greater distance to be passed in Otfrid's theory of the substitution of ia for iu, which cannot fail to surprise, as we know that a simple u never becomes a.[†] In Middle High German in has either remained unaltered, or has been changed to ie, which is as old as the latest Old High German, as it is found in Notker. In Modern High German the substitution of ie for the old iu is that which princi-

^{*} Ahtau = ashtau is perhaps the only case in which the Gothic au corresponds to the Sanscrit Vriddhi diphthong \hat{u} au; on the other hand, au often answers to \hat{u} $\hat{v} = (a + u)$

[†] There is yet another is in Old High German, namely, that which Grimm (p. 103) very acutely represents as the result of a contraction, and formerly dissyllabic, to which, therefore, there is no counterpart diphthong in Gothic. The most important case will be discussed under the head of the verb, in preterites, such as hialt, "I held," Gothic haihald. After this analogy fiar, "four," (according to Otfrid,) arose out of the Gothic fidvor, in this way, that, after the extrusion of the dv, the 6 passed into its corresponding short vowel.—Grimm. p. 103.

pally prevails, in which, however, the e is only retained for the eye, since, phonetically, it is absorbed by the i. pare ich biete with the Gothic biuda, giesse with giuta. Besides this form, we also find eu in place of the old iu or still older au, in cases, namely, where e can be accounted for as the result of a no longer perceptible modification (Grimm, p. 523, §. 75.); compare Leute with the Gothic laudeis, Old High German liuti, "people"; Heu, "hay," with Goth. havi, "grass." Usually, however, the Gothic has already acquired an in in place of this eu, and the original au (which becomes av before vowels) is to be sought in the Sanscrit; for instance, Neune, "nine," Old High German niuni, Gothic niuneis, Sanscrit नवन् navan; "New," Old High German nivi (indeclinable), Gothic nivi-s, Sanscrit नवस nava-s. This e, however, is difficult to account for, in as far as it is connected with the *Umlaut*, because it corresponds to an i in Middle and Old High German; and this vowel, of itself answering to an i or j in the following syllable, is capable of no alteration through their power of attraction. Long u for iu, equivalent to a transposition of the diphthong, is found in lügen, "to lie," trügen, "to deceive," Middle High German liugen, triugen.

84. Where the a element of the Sanscrit $\Re \delta$, retains its existence in the Gothic, making au the equivalent of δ , the Middle High German, and a part of the Old High German authorities, have ou in the place of au, although, as has been remarked in §. 80, under the influence of certain consonants δ prevails. Compare Old High German pouc, Middle High German bouc, with the Gothic preterite baug, "flexi." The o of the High German ou has the same relation to the corresponding Gothic a in au, as the Greek o in $\beta o \hat{v}_{\delta}$ bears to the Sanscrit $\Re a$, which undergoes a fusion with $\Re u$ in the $\Re \delta$ of the cognate word $\Re \delta$. The oldest Old High German authorities (Gl. Hrab. Ker. Is.) have au for the ou of the later (Grimm, p. 99); and as,

under the conditions specified in §. 80, they also exhibit δ , this tells in favour of Grimm's assumption, that au in the Gothic and oldest High German was pronounced like our German au, and thus not like the Sanscrit δ (out of a+u). In this case, in the Gothic ai, also, both the letters must have been sounded, and this diphthong must be only an etymological, and not a phonetic equivalent of the Sanscrit v ℓ .

85. In the Gothic diphthong ai the a alone is susceptible of alteration, and appears in High German softened down to e, in the cases in which the é, contracted from ai, (§. 78.) does not occur. In Modern High German, however, ei, in pronunciation, = ai. Compare

old Middle Modern
gothic. High German. High German. High German.
haita, "voco," heizu, heize, heisse.
skaida, "separo," skeidu, scheide scheide.

86. (1.) Let us now consider the consonants, preserving the Indian arrangement, and thus the gutturals first. Of these, the Gothic has merely the tenuis and the medial (k, g); and Ulfilas, in imitation of the Greeks, places the latter as a nasal before gutturals; for instance, drigkan, "to drink"; briggan, "to bring"; tuggô, "tongue"; juggs, "young": gaggs, "a going." (subst.) For the compound kv the old writing has a special character, which we, like Grimm, render by qv, although q does not appear elsewhere, and v also combines with g; so that qv = kvplainly bears the same relation to gv that k bears to g; compare siggvan, "to sink," with siggvan, "to read," "to sing." H also, in Gothic, willingly combines with v; and for this combination, also, the original text has a special character; compare saihvan, leihvan, with our sehen, leihen. In respect of h by itself we have to observe that it often appears in relations in which the dentals place their th and the labials their f, so that in this case it takes the place of

kh, which is wanting in the Gothic. In this manner is aih related to aigum, "we have," bauth to budum, and gaf to gebum. Probably the pronunciation of the Gothic h was not in all positions the same, but in terminations, and before t and s, if not generally before consonants, corresponded to our ch. The High German has ch as an aspirate of the k; for this tenuis, however, either k or c stands in the older dialects, the use of which, in Middle High German, is so distinguished, that c stands as a terminating letter, and in the middle of words before t, and ch also stands for a double k. (Grimm, p. 422.) This distinction reminds us of the use of the Zend & c in contrast to 9 k, as also of the ps t in contrast to 9 t. (§§. 34. 38.)

- (2.) The palatals and linguals are wanting in Gothic, as in Greek and Latin; the dentals are, in Gothic, t, th, d, together with their nasal n. For th the Gothic alphabet has a special character. In the High German z = ts fills the place of the aspiration of the 4, so that the breathing is replaced by the sibilation. By the side of this z in the Old High German, the old Gothic th also maintains its existence.* There are two species of z, which, in Middle High German, do not agree with each other. In the one t has the preponderance, in the other s; and this latter is written by Isidor zs, and its reduplication zss, while the reduplication of the former he writes tz. In the Modern High German the second species has only retained the sibilant, but in writing is distinguished, though not universally, from s proper. Etymologically, both species of the Old and Middle High German z fall under the same head, and correspond to the Gothic t.
 - (3.) The labials are, in Gothic, p, f, b, with their nasal

^{*} Our Modern High German th is, according to Grimm, (p. 525,) inorganic, and to be rejected. "It is, neither in pronunciation nor origin, properly aspirated, and nothing but a mere tenuis."

The High German supplies this organ, as the Sanscrit does all, with a double aspiration, a surd $(f = \psi ph)$ (see §. 25.) and a sonant, which is written v, and comes nearer to the Sanscrit & bh. In Modern High German we perceive no longer any phonetic difference between f and v; but in Middle High German v shews itself in this manner softer than f, in that, first, at the end of words it is transformed into f, on the same principle by which, in such a position, the medials are converted into tenues; for instance, wolf not wolv, but genitive wolves; second, that in the middle before surd consonants it becomes f, hence zwelve becomes zwelfte, fünve becomes funfte, funfzic. At the beginning of words f and v, in Middle High German, seem of equal signification, and their use in the MSS. is precarious, but v preponderates (Grimm, pp. 339, 400.) It is the same in Old High German; yet Notker uses f as the original primarily existing breathsound, and v as the softer or sonant aspiration, and therefore employs the latter in cases where the preceding word concludes with one of those letters, which otherwise (§. 93.) soften down a tenuis to its medial (Grimm, pp. 135, 136); for instance, demo vater, den vater, but not des vater but des So far the rule is less stringent (observes Grimm), that in all the prescribed cases it changes the v to f, but the converse is not invariable. Many Old High German authorities abandon altogether the initiatory v, and write f for it constantly, namely, Kero, Otfrid, Tatian. ration of the p is sometimes, in Old High German, also rendered by ph, but, in general, only at the beginning of words of foreign origin, phorta, phenning; in the middle, and at the end occasionally, in true Germanic forms, such as wërphan, warph, wurphumés in Tatian; limphan in Otfrid and Tatian. According to Grimm, ph, in many cases, has had the mere sound of f. "In monumental inscriptions, however, which usually employ f, the ph of many words had indisputably the sound of pf; for example, if Otfrid

kh, which is wanting in the Gothic. In this manner is aih related to aigum, "we have," bauth to budum, and gaf to gebum. Probably the pronunciation of the Gothic h was not in all positions the same, but in terminations, and before t and s, if not generally before consonants, corresponded to our ch. The High German has ch as an aspirate of the k; for this tenuis, however, either k or c stands in the older dialects, the use of which, in Middle High German, is so distinguished, that c stands as a terminating letter, and in the middle of words before t, and ch also stands for a double k. (Grimm, p. 422.) This distinction reminds us of the use of the Zend & c in contrast to 9 k, as also of the pt in contrast to 9 t. (§§. 34. 38.)

- (2.) The palatals and linguals are wanting in Gothic, as in Greek and Latin; the dentals are, in Gothic, t, th, d, together with their nasal n. For th the Gothic alphabet has a special character. In the High German z = ts fills the place of the aspiration of the t, so that the breathing is replaced by the sibilation. By the side of this z in the Old High German, the old Gothic th also maintains its ex-There are two species of z, which, in Middle High German, do not agree with each other. In the one t has the preponderance, in the other s; and this latter is written by Isidor zs, and its reduplication zss, while the reduplication of the former he writes tz. In the Modern High German the second species has only retained the sibilant, but in writing is distinguished, though not universally, from s proper. Etymologically, both species of the Old and Middle High German z fall under the same head, and correspond to the Gothic t.
 - (3.) The labials are, in Gothic, p, f, b, with their nasal

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writes kuphar, "cuprum," scepheri, "Creator," we are not to assume that these words were pronounced kufar, sceferi" (p. 132). In Middle High German the initial ph of foreign words of the Old High German has become pf (Grimm, In the middle and at the end we find pf, first, always after m, kampf, "pugna," tampf, "vapor," krempfen, "contrahere." In this case p is an euphonic appendage to f, in order to facilitate a union with m; second, in compounds with the inseparable preposite ent, which, before the labial aspirates, lays aside its t, or, as seems to me the sounder supposition, converts that letter, by assimilation, into the labial tenuis. Hence, for instance, enp-finden, later and more harmonious emp-finden, for entfinden. Standing alone, nevertheless, it appears, in Middle High German, vinden, but v does not combine with p, for after the surd p the surd aspirate is necessary (see Grimm, p. 398). Thirdly, after short vowels the labial aspirates are apt to precede their tenues, as well in the middle as at the end of words: just as in Sanscrit (Gramm. Crit. r. 88.) the palatal surd aspirate between a short and another vowel or semi-vowel is preceded by its tenuis; and, for instance, yash prichchhati is said for yash prichhati, "interrogat," from the root no prachh. Thus I conceive the Middle High German forms kopf, kropf, tropfe, klopfen, kripfen, kapfen (Grimm, p. 398). In the same words we sometimes find ff. as kaffen, schuffen. Here, also, p has assimilated itself to the following f; for f, even though it be the aspirate of p, is not pronounced like the Sanscrit \mathbf{q} ph, that is, like p with a clearly perceptible h; but the sounds p and h are compounded into a third simple sound lying between the two, which is therefore capable of reduplication, as in Greek ϕ unites itself with θ , while ph + th would be impossible.

(4.) The Sanscrit semi-vowels are represented in Gothic by j (=y), r, l, v; the same in High German; only in Old High German Manuscripts the sound of the Indo-Gothic v

(our w) is most usually represented by uu, in Middle High German by vv: j in both is written i. We agree with Grimm in using j and w for all periods of the High German. After an initial consonant in Old High German, the semi-vowel w in most authorities is expressed by u; for instance, zuelif, "twelve," Gothic tvalif; as in the Sanscrit and Zend the semi-vowels y = j and v often arise out of the corresponding vowels i and u, so also in the Germanic; for instance, Gothic suniv-ê, "filiorum," from the base sunu, with u affected by guna (iu, §. 27.). More usually, however, in the Germanic, the converse occurs, namely, that j and v, at terminations and before consonants, have become vowelized (see §. 72.), and have only retained their original form before terminations beginning with a vowel; for if, for instance, thius, "servant," forms thivis in the genitive, we know, from the history of the word, that this v has not sprung from the u of the nominative, but that thius is a mutilation of thivas (§. 116.); so that after the lapse of the a the preceding semi-vowel has become a whole In like manner is thivi, "maid-servant," a mutilation of the base thivjô (§. 120.), whose nominative, like the accusative, probably was thivja, for which, however, in the accusative, after the v had become vowelized, thinja was substituted.

s is the surd. It is remarkable, in a grammatical view, that a concluding s before the enclitic particles ei and uh. and before the passive addition a, passes into z; hence, for instance, thizei "cujus," from this "hujus," thanzei "quos," from thans "hos," vileizuh "visne," out of vileis "vis," haitaza "vocaris," out of haitis "vocas," or rather out of its earlier form haitas. The root sleep," forms, by a reduplication, in the preterite, saizlép, "I or he slept." Other examples are, izvis, "vobis," "vos," razn, "house," talzjan, "to teach," marzjan, "to provoke," fairzna, "heel." High German loves the softening of s into r, especially between two vowels (see §. 22.); but this change has not established itself as a pervading law, and does not extend over all parts of the Grammar. For instance, in Old High German, the final s of several roots has changed itself into r before the preterite terminations which commence with a vowel; on the other hand, it has remained unaltered in the uninflected first and third pers. sing. indicative, and also before the vowels of the present. For instance, from the root lus, comes liusu, "I lose," lós, "I or he lost," lurumês, "we lost." While in these cases the termination takes s under its protection, yet the s of the nominative singular, where it has not been altogether dropped, is everywhere softened down to r; and, on the other hand, the concluding s of the genitive has, down to our time, remained unaltered, and thus an organic difference has arisen between two cases originally distinguished by a similar suffix. For instance,

| GOTHIC. | OLD HIGH GERMAN. | MODERN HIGH GERMAN. | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|------------------------|--|--|
| Nominative blind-s, | plintê-r, | blinde-r. | | |
| Genitive blindi-s, | plinte-s, | blinde-s. | | |

87. The Germanic tongues exhibit, in respect of consonants, a remarkable law of displacement, which has been first recognised and developed with great ability by Grimm. According to this law, the Gothic, and the other dialects,

with the exception of the High German, in relation to the Greek, Latin, and, with certain limits, also to the Sanscrit and Zend, substitute aspirates for the original tenues, h for k, th for t, and f for p; tenues for medials, t for d, p for b, and k for g; finally, medials for aspirates, g for χ , d for θ , and b for f. The High German bears the same regular relation to the Gothic as the latter to the Greek, and substitutes its aspirates for the Gothic tenues and Greek medials; its tenues for the Gothic medials and Greek aspirates; and its medials for the Gothic aspirates and Greek tenues. Yet the Gothic labial and guttural medial exhibits itself unaltered in most of the Old High German authorities, as in the Middle and Modern High German; for instance, Gothic biuga, "flecto," Old High German biugu and piuku, Middle High German biuge, Modern High German biege. For the Gothic f, the Old High German substitutes v, especially as a first letter (§. 86. 3). In the t sounds, z in High German (=ts) replaces an aspirate. The Gothic has no aspiration of the k, and either replaces the Greek k by the simple aspiration h, in which case it sometimes coincides with the Sanscrit & h; or it falls to the level of the High German, and, in the middle or end of words, usually gives g instead of k, the High German adhering, as regards the beginning of words, to the Gothic practice, and participating with that dialect in the use of the h. We give here Grimm's table, illustrating the law of these substitutions, p. 584.

| Greek | \boldsymbol{P} | \boldsymbol{B} | \boldsymbol{F} | T | D | Th | K | G | Ch |
|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|----|------------------|------------------|---|----|----|
| Gothic | $oldsymbol{F}$ | P | \boldsymbol{B} | Th | \boldsymbol{T} | \boldsymbol{D} | | K | G |
| Old High German, | B(V) | \boldsymbol{F} | \boldsymbol{P} | D | \boldsymbol{Z} | \boldsymbol{T} | G | Ch | K |

EXAMPLES.*

| SANSORIT. | GREEK. | LATIN. | GOTHIC. 1 | old Eigh gern. |
|-----------------------|--------------|----------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| पादस् påda-s, | πούς, ποδ-ός | , pes, pedis, | fôlus, | vuoz. |
| पद्मन् panchan, | πέμπε, | quinque, | fimf, | vinf. |
| पूर्ण pûrna, | πλέος, | plenus, | fulls, | vol. |
| पितृ pitri, | πατήρ, | pater, | fadrein [†] , | vatar. |
| उपरि upari, | ύπέρ, | super, | ufar, | ubar. |
| . • | κάνναβις, | cannabis, | | hanaf. |
| भच्च bhanj, | • • | frangere, | brika n , | prëchan. |
| भुन् bhuj, | • • | frui, fructus, | brûkô n , | prûchôn. |
| भान bhrâtri, | • • | frater | brôthar, | pruoder. |
| भू bhri, | φέρω, | fero, | baira, | piru. |
| મુ bhrû, | ὀφρύς, | • • | • • | prawa. |
| क्पाल kapâla, m. n., | κεφαλή, | caput, | haubith, | houpit. |
| त्वम् tvam (nom.), | τύ, | • • | thu, | du. |
| तम् tam (acc.), | τόν, | is-tum, | thana, | dë n |
| चयस trayas (n. pl.), | τρεῖς, | tres, | threis, | drî. |
| चनार antara, | έτερος, | alter, | anthar, | andar. |
| दमाम् danta-m (acc.), | όδόντ-α, | dentem, | thuntu-8, | zand. |
| हो dvau (n. du), | δύο, | duo, | tvai, | zuênê. |
| दिख्या dakshind, | δεξία, | dextra, | taihsvô, | zësama. |
| उद् uda, | ὖδωρ, | unda, | vatô, | mazar. |
| दुहितृ duhitri, | θυγάτηρ, | • • | dauhtar, | tohtar. |
| हार् dvår, | θύρα, | fores, | daur, | tor. |
| मधु madhu, | μέθυ, | • • | • • | mëto. |
| चान् śvan, | κύων, | canis, | hunths, | hund. |
| हृदय hṛidaya, | καρδία, | cor, | hairtô, | hërza. |
| चह्य aksha, | όκος, | oculus, | augô, | ouga. |
| चन्नु aśru, | δάκρυ, | lacrima, | tagr m., | zahar. |
| पनु paśu, | • • | pecus, | faihu, | vihu. |

^{*} The Sanscrit words here stand, where the termination is not separated from the base, or the case not indicated, in their crude or simple form (thema); of the verb, we give only the naked root.

† "Parents."

| SANSCRIT. | GREEK. | LATIN. | фотніс. | OLD HIGH GERM. |
|----------------|-------------------------------------|---------|----------|-------------------|
| ષાનુર śvaśura, | έκυρός, | socer, | svaihra, | suehur. |
| दशन daśan, | δέκα, | decem, | taihun, | zëhan. |
| sī jnā, | γνῶμι, | gnosco, | kan, | chan. |
| जाति jāti*, | γένος, | genus, | kuni, | chuni. |
| जानु janu, | γόνυ, | genu, | kniu, | chniu. |
| महत् mahat, | μέγαλος, | magnus, | mikils, | mihil. |
| हंस hansa, | χήν, | anser, | gans, | kans. |
| सम् hyas, | $\chi 	heta \epsilon_{	extsf{S}}$, | heri, | gistra, | këstar. |
| लिह् lih, | λείχω, | lingo, | laigô, | lékôm. |

88. The Lithuanian has left the consonants without displacement in their old situations, only, from its deficiency in aspirates, substituting simple tenues for the Sanscrit aspirated tenues, and medials for the aspirated medials. Compare,

| T.T | THI | A TI | NI | N. |
|-----|-----|------|----|----|

rata-s, "wheel," búsu, "I would be," ka-s, "who," důmi, "I give," pats, "husband," "master," penki, "five," trys, "three," keturi, "four," ketwirtas, "the fourth," szakà, f. "bough,"

SANSCRIT.

रथस ratha-s, "waggon."
भविषामि bhavishyami.
कस् ka-s.
ददामि dadami.
पतिस् pati-s.
पचन् panchan.
चयस् trayas (n. pl. m.)
षत्वारस् chatvaras (n. pl. m.)
चतुर्यस् chaturtha-s.
आसा sakha.

Irregular deviations occur, as might be expected, in individual cases. Thus, for instance, naga-s, "nail" (of the foot or finger), not naka-s, answers to the Sanscrit naka nakhas. The Zend stands, as we have before remarked, in the same rank, in all essential respects, as the Sanscrit,

^{*} From jan, "to be born."

Greek, and Latin. As, however, according to §. 47, certain consonants convey an aspiration to the letter which precedes them, this may occasion an accidental coincidence between the Zend and the Gothic; and both languages may, in like manner and in the same words, depart from the original tenuis. Compare,

thir (Thema), "three," 以 thri, fiti.
thu-s, "to thee," 以如 thrôi, 和 tve.*
fra, (inseparable prep.) 以 fra, 如 pra.
frijô, "I love," 以如 afrinamit, 如可用 prinami.
ahva‡, "a river," 如如 afs 啊 ap (Thema).

I pronounce this coincidence between the Gothic and the Zend aspirates accidental, because the causes of it are distinct; as, on the one side, the Gothic accords no aspirating influence to the letters v and r (truda, trauan, trimpan, tvai), and th and f, in the examples given above, only stand, because, according to rule, Gothic aspirates are to be expected in the place of original tenues; on the other side, the Zend everywhere retains the original tenues, where the letters named in §. 47. do not exhibit an influence, which is unknown to the Gothic; so that, quite according to order, in by far the majority of forms which admit of comparison, either Gothic aspirates are met with in the place of Zend tenues, or, according to another appointment of the Germanic law of substitution, Gothic tenues in that of Zend medials. Compare,

^{*} Tvê occurs as an uninflected genitive in Rosen's Veda-Specimen, p. 26, and may, like the mutilated at tê, be also used as a dative.

^{† &}quot;I bless," from the Sanscrit root pri, "to love," united with the prep. a.

[‡] Ahva. The Sanscrit-Zend expression signifies "water"; and the Gothic form displays itself in the transition, of frequent occurrence, of p to k, for which the law of substitution requires h (see also aqua).

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GOTHIC.
                                    ZEND.
thu, "thou,"
                              ç 90 tûm.
                       မှာ chathward (n. pl. m.)
fidvôr, (ind.) "four,"
                         ມທຸພູມພູ pancha.
fimf,
                           ψιείευ pěrěnô (n. m.)
fulls, "full,"
                        קבאט paitar-ĕm (patrem).
fadrein, "parents,"
faths, "master,".
                         mspsud paiti-8.
faihu, "beast,"
                        ભાગમાથે pašu-ક.
farjith, "he wanders," אעלענאפן charaiti.
fôtu-s, "foot,"
                           ມ<u>ດມ</u>ເຈ pådha (§. 39.)
fraihith, "he asks," pěrěšaiti.
ufar, "over,"
                           ر الادراد ($. 41.) upairi
af, "from,"
                             มงม apa.
thai, "these,"
                              sh opa
hvas, "who,"
                               by kô.
tvai, "two,"
                             wy dva.
```

In the Sanscrit and Zend the sonant aspirates (even ξh is sonant, see §. 25.) correspond, according to rule, to the Gothic medials, not to the mute, as in Greek: as, however, in the Zend the bh is not found, b answers to the Gothic b. Compare,

taihsvô, "right hand," אנגאינן dashina, "dexter."

NNNA daša.

taihun, "ten,"

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ZEND.
        GOTHIC.
                                                      SANSCRIT.
bairith, "he carries," צעלענסנ baraiti,
                                           विभित्ते bibharti.
brôthar, "brother," קבלשון brâtarëm (acc.) אותפן bhrâtaram (acc.)
bai, "both,"
                                               उभी ubhâu (n. ac.v. du.)
                           ্যা) uba,
brûkan, "to use,"
                                               भुज् bhuj, "essen."
                           يدين abi, عصدين aimi, च्राभ abhi.
bi (prep.)
midja, "middling,"
                                               मध्य madhya.
                      NIJOZNE maidhya,
bindan, "bind,"
                       உழுப் bandh,
                                               चन्ध् bandh.
```

89. Violations of the law of displacement of sounds, both by persistence in the same, or the substitution of irregular sounds, are frequent in the middle and at the end of words. Thus, in the Old High German vatar, the t of the Greek $\pi\alpha\tau\eta\rho$ remains; in the Gothic fadrein, "parentes," d is substituted irregularly for th. The same phenomenon occurs in the cases of the Old High German olpenta, and the Gothic ulbandus, elepanta; thus, also, the t of the chatur, "quatuor," has become the d in the Gothic fidvor instead of th; but in High German has entirely disappeared. The p of the Sanscrit root the Gothic slepa, and the Old High German slafu stands in the Gothic category, but the Sanscrit root is more faithfully preserved in the Old High German in in-suepju (sopio, see §. 86. 4.)

- 90. Nor have the flexions or grammatical appendages everywhere submitted to the law of displacement, but have, in many instances, either remained faithful to the primary sound, or have, at least, rejected the particular change prescribed by §. 87. Thus the Old High German has, in the third person, as well singular as plural, retained the original t; compare hapet, "he has," hapent, "they have," with habet, habent: the Gothic, on the contrary, says habaith, haband; the first in accordance with the law, the last in violation of it, for habanth. Thus, also, in the part. pres., the t of the old languages has become, under the influence of the preceding n, not th but d; the t of the part. pass., however, is changed before the s of the nom. into th, but before vowel terminations, by an anomalous process, into d; after the same principle by which the th of the third person before the vowel increment of the passive is softened to d; so that da, instead of tha, corresponds to the Greek το, of ετύπτετ-ο, and to the Sanscrit was, of when abhavata. The Old High German, on the other hand, has preserved the original t in both participles: hapenter, hapeter, Gothic habands, genitive habandins; habaiths, gen. habaidis.
- 91. Special notice is due to the fact, that in the middle of words under the protection of a preceding consonant,

the old consonant often remains without displacement, sometimes because it chimes in well with the preceding sound, sometimes because, in regard for the preceding letters, alterations have been admitted other than those which the usual practice as to displacement would lead us to expect. Mute consonants (§. 25.), among which, in the Germanic, the A must be reckoned, where it is to be pronounced like our ch, protect a succeeding original t. Thus, जही ashtaû, "eight," ὀκτώ, "octo," is in Goth. ahtau, in Old High German ahto: नसन् naktam (adverbial accusative), "night," νύξ, νυκτός, "nox," "noctis," is in Gothic nahts, Old High German naht. The liquids, on the other hand, like the vowels, which they approach nearest of all consonants, affect a d or th after themselves. From these euphonic causes, for instance, the feminine suffix fi in Sanscrit, in Greek σις, as ποίησις, which designates abstract substantives, appears in Gothic in three forms, ti, di, and thi. The original form ti shews itself after f, into which p and b mostly resolve themselves, and also after s and h; for instance, anst(i)s (§. 117.), "grace," from the root an, Old High German unnan, "to be gracious," with the insertion of an euphonic s: fralust(i)s, "loss," (from lus, pres. liusa): maht(i)s, "strength," (from magan): fra-gift(i)s, "betrothment," (from gib, gaf), also fragibts, perhaps erroneously, as b has little affinity with t: ga-skaft(i)s, "creation," (from skap-an.) The form di finds its place after vowels, but is able, where the vowel of the suffix falls away, i. e. in the nom. and accus. sing., to convert d into th, because th can, more easily than d, dispense with a following vowel, and is converted at the end of words and before consonants, even if d be tolerated in such a position. Hence the root bud, "to bid," (pres. biuda, §. 27.) forms, in the uninflected condition of the pret., bauth, in the plur. bud-um; and the nominal base, mana-sé-di, "world," (according to Grimm's well-founded interpretation, "seed, not seat, of man,") forms in the nom.

and accus. mana-sêths, mana-sêth, or mana-sêds, mana-sêd; but in the dat. mana-sédai, not séthai. On the other hand, after liquids the suffix is usually thi, and after n, di: the dental, however, once chosen, remains afterwards in every position, without a vowel as before vowels; for instance, gabaurths, "birth," dat. gabaurthai; gafaurds, "gathering" (from far-jan, "to go"), gen. gafaurdais; gakunths, "esteem," gen. gakunthais; gamunds, "memory," gen. gamundais; gagvumths, "meeting," dat. gaqvumthai, dat. plur. gaqvumthim. From the union with m, d is excluded. On the whole, however, the law here discussed accords remarkably with a similar phenomenon in modern Persian, where the original t of grammatical terminations and suffixes is maintained only after mute consonants, but after vowels and liquids is changed into d: hence, for instance, girif-ten, "to take," bes-ten, "to bind, dásh-ten, "to have," pukh-ten, "to cook": on the other hand, då-den, "to give," ber-den, "to bear," âm-den, "to come." I do not, therefore, hesitate to release the Germanic suffix ti, and all other suffixes originally commencing with t, from the general law of substitution of sounds, and to assign the lot of this t entirely to the controul of the preceding letter. The Old High German, in the case of our suffix ti, as in that of other suffixes and terminations originally commencing with 4, accords with the original ta far more extensive prevalence than does the Gothic; inasmuch as it retains that letter, not only when protected by s, h, and f, but also after vowels and liquids after m an euphonic f is inserted;—and the t is only changed after l into d. Hence, for instance, "ans-t, "grace," hlouft, lauf, "course," mah-t, macht, "might," så-t, "seed," kipurt, geburt, "birth," var-t, "journey," mun-t, "protection," ki-wal-t, gewalt, "force," scul-t, schuld, "guilt," chumft, "arrival."

92. The law of substitution shews the greatest pertinacity at the beginning of words, and I have found it every-

where observed in the relation of the Gothic to the Greek and Latin. On the other hand, in some roots which are either deficient or disfigured in the Old European languages, but which are common to the Germanic and the Sanscrit, the Gothic stands on the same footing with the Sanscrit, especially in respect of initial medials. Thus, and bandh, "to bind," is also band in Gothic, not pand; are grah, in the Vedas and grabh, "to take," "seize," is grip (pres. greipa with Guna, §. 27.) not krip; and and and gam, "to go," correspond with gagga, "I go," and ga-tvô, "street;" and dah, "to burn," is, in Old High German, dah-an (daiw), "to burn," "to light." I can detect, however, no instance in which Gothic tenues correspond to Sanscrit as initial letters.

93. We return now to the Sanscrit, in order, with relation to the most essential laws of sound, to notice one adverted to in our theory of single letters; where it was said of several concurrent consonants that they were tolerated neither at the end of words, nor in the middle before strong consonants, and how their places were supplied in such situa-It is besides to be observed, that, properly, tenues tions. alone can terminate a Sanscrit word; but medials, only before sonants, (§. 25.) can either be retained, if they originally terminate an inflective base, or take the place of a tenuis or an aspirate, if these happen to precede sonants in a sentence. As examples, we select that, (viridis), "green," वेदविद् vêda-vid, "skilled in the Vêda," धनलभ् dhanalabh, "acquiring wealth." These words are, according to §. 94, without a nominative sign. We find, also, खस्ति हरित् asti harit, "he is green," चस्ति वेदचित् asti veda-vit, चस्ति चनलप् asti dhana-lap; on the other hand, हरिंद् अस्ति harid asti, वेदिविद चस्ति vedavid asti, चनरून् चस्ति dhana-lab asti; also, हरिद् अवति

^{*} The Latin prehendo is probably related to the Sanscrit root us gruh, through the usual interchange between gutturals and labials.

harid bhavati, &c. With this Sanscrit law the Middle High German is very nearly in accordance, which indeed tolerates aspirates at the end of words, contrary to the custom of the Sanscrit, only with a conversion of the sonant v into the mute f, see §. 86. 3.; but, like the Sanscrit, and independent of the law of displacement explained in §. 87, supplies the place of medials at the end of words regularly As, for example, in the genitives tages, eides, wibes, of which the nom. and accus. sing., deprived of the inflexion and the terminating vowel of the base, take the forms tac, (§. 86. 1.) eit, wip. So also as to the verb; for instance, the roots trag, lad, grab, form, in the uninflected 1st and 3d pers. sing. pret., truoc, luot, gruop, plur. truogen. luoden, gruoben. Where, on the other hand, the tenuis or aspirate (v excepted) is radical, there no alteration of sound occurs in declension or in conjugation. For instance, wort, gen. wortes, not wordes, as in Sansc. ददन dadat, "the giver," gen. दहतम् dadatas, not दहदस् dadadas, but चित् vit, "knowing," gen. विदस् vidas, from the base विद् vid. Old High German different monuments of the language are at variance with respect to the strict observance of this law. Isidor is in accordance with it, insomuch that he converts d at the end into t, and g into c; for instance, wort, wordes; The Gothic excludes only the labial medials from terminations, but replaces them, not by tenues, but by aspirates. Hence gaf, "I gave," in contrast to gêbum, and the accusatives hlaif, lauf, thiuf, opposed to the nominatives hlaibs, laubs, thiubs, gen. hlaibis, &c. The guttural and dental medials (g, d) are tolerated by the Gothic in terminations; yet even in these, in individual cases, a preference appears for the terminating aspirates. pare bauth, "I or he offered," with budum, "we offered," from the root bud; hailad-a "nominatur" with hailith (§. 67.) "nominat;" aih, "I have," "he has," with aigum, "we have." 93. In a sense also opposed to that of the above-mentioned Sanscrit law, we find, in Old High German, yet only in Notker, an euphonic relation between terminating and initial letters of two words which come together. (Grimm pp. 130, 138, 181.) As in Sanscrit the tenuis appears as an essential consonant, fit for the conclusion of a sentence, but exchangeable, under the influence of a word following in a sentence, for the medials; so with Notker the tenuis ranks as a true initial; stands therefore at the beginning of a sentence, and after strong consonants; but after vowels and the weakest consonants the liquid is turned into a medial. Thus, for instance, ih pin, "I am," but ih ne bin; ter dag, "the day," but tes tages; mit Kote, "with God," but minan Gott, "my God."

94. Two consonants are no longer, in the existing condition of the Sanscrit, tolerated at the end of a word, but the latter of the two is rejected. This emasculation, which must date from an epoch subsequent to the division of the language, as this law is not recognised either by the Zend or by any of the European branches of the family, has had, in many respects, a disadvantageous operation on the Grammar, and has mutilated many forms of antiquity required by theory. In the High German we may view, as in some degree connected with this phenomenon, the circumstance that roots with double liquids—ll, mm, nn, rr in forms which are indeclinable (and before the consonants of inflexions) reject the latter of the pair. In the case, also, of terminations in double h or t, one is rejected. Hence, for instance, from stihhu (pungo), arprittu (stringo), the 1st and 3d pers. pret. stah, ar-prat. In Middle High German, in declensions in ck, ff, the last is rejected; for instance, boc, gen. bockes; grif, griffes: tz loses the t; for instance, schaz, schatzes.

95. Between a terminating π n and a succeeding t sound—as which the palatals also must be reckoned, for π ch is equivalent to tsh—in the Sanscrit an euphonic sibilant is

interposed, from the operation of the following t; and π , by this sibilant, is converted, §. 9. into Anusvâra; for instance, सभवंस् तम abhavans tatra, (abhavan-s-tatra,) "they were there." With this coincides the circumstance, that, in High German, between a radical n and the t of an affix, an s, in certain cases, is inserted; for instance, from the root ann, "to favour," comes, in Old High German, an-s-t, "thou favourest," on-s-ta or onda, "I favoured," an-s-t, "favour; from prann comes pruns-t, "ardour"; from chan is derived chun-s-t, "knowledge," our German Kunst, in which, as in Brunst and Gunst, (from gonnen, probably formed from the ann before noticed, and the preposite g(e), the euphonic s has stood fast. The Gothic exhibits this phenomenon nowhere, perhaps, but in an-s-ts and allbrun-s-ts 'holocaustum.' In Old High German we find still an s inserted after r, in the root tarr; hence, tar-s-t, "thou darest," tor-s-ta, "I dared."

96. In Sanscrit the interposed euphonic s has extended itself further only among the prefixed prepositions, which generally enter into most intimate and facile connection with the following root. In this manner the euphonic s steps in between the prepositions सन् sam, जन ava, परि pari, पति prati, and certain words which begin with क k. this the Latin s between ab or ob and c, q, and p, remarkably accords*, which s, ab retains even in an isolated position, when the above-mentioned letters follow. we also refer the cosmittere of Festus, instead of committere (Schneider, p. 475), unless an original smitto, for mitto, is involved in this compound. In the Greek, s shews an inclination for connection with τ , θ , and μ , and precedes these letters as an euphonic link, especially after short vowels, in cases which require no special mention. In compounds like σακες-πάλος I reckon the ς, in opposition to the common theory, as belonging to the base of the first member (§. 128.).

^{*} We scarcely think it necessary to defend ourselves for dividing, with Vossius, ob-solesco, rather than with Schneider (p. 571.) obs-olesco.

We have yet to consider a case of the interpolation of an euphonic labial, which is common to the Old Latin and Germanic, and serves to facilitate the union of the labial nasal with a dental. The Latin places p between m and a following t or s; the Gothic and Old High German f between m and t. Thus, sumpsi, prompsi, dempsi, sumptus, promptus, demptus; Gothic andanum-f-ts, "acceptance"; Old High German chum-f-t, "arrival." In Greek we find also the interpolation of an euphonic β after μ , of a δ after ν , of a θ after σ , in order to facilitate the union of μ , ν , and σ with ρ and λ ($\mu \epsilon \sigma \eta \mu \beta \rho i \alpha$, $\mu \epsilon \mu \beta \lambda \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota$, $\dot{\alpha} \nu \delta \rho \dot{\alpha} s$, $i \mu \dot{\alpha} \sigma \theta \lambda \eta$ —see Buttman, p. 80); while the Modern Persian places an euphonic d between the vowel of a prefixed preposition and that of the following word, as be-d- θ , "to him."

97. The Greek affords few specimens of variability at the end of words, excepting from peculiarities of dialect, as the substitution of ρ for ς . The alteration of the ν in the article in old inscriptions, and in the prefixes σύν, èν, and πάλιν, seems analogous to the changes which, according to §. 18, the terminating #, in Sanscrit, undergoes in all cases, with reference to the letter which The concluding ν in Greek is also generally a derivative from μ , and corresponds to this letter, which the Greek never admits as a termination in analogous forms of the Sanscrit, Zend, and Latin. N frequently springs from a terminating ς ; thus, for instance, $\mu \epsilon \nu$ (Doric $\mu \epsilon \varsigma$) and the dual $\tau o \nu$ answer to the Sanscrit personal terminations मस mas, पस thas, तस tas. I have found this explanation, which I have given elsewhere, of the origin of the v from s subsequently confirmed by the Pracrit, in which, in like manner, the concluding s of the instrumental termination plural fire bhis has passed into the dull in (Anusvâra, §. 9.), and fe hin is said for bhis. An operation, which has a prejudicial effect on many Greek terminations, and disturbs the relation to kindred languages, is the suppression of the t sound at the end of words, where, in Sanscrit, Zend, and Latin it plays an essential part. In respect of the vowels, it is also worthy of notice, that in Sanscrit, but not in Zend, at the meeting of vowel terminations and commencements, a hiatus is guarded against, either by the fusion of the two vowels, or, in cases where the vowel has a kindred semi-vowel at its command, by its transition into this latter, provided the vowel following be unlike. We find, for instance, अस्तीदम astidam, "est hoc," and अस्य अयम asty ayam, "est hic." For the sake of clearness, and because the junction of two vowels might too often give the appearance of two or more words to one, I write in my most recent text चस्ती 'हम्, in order, by an apostrophe which I employ as a sign of fusion, to indicate that the vowel which appears wanting in the दन dam is contained in the terminating vowel of the preceding word. might, perhaps, still better write चस्ति 'दम, in order directly at the close of the first word to shew that its terminating vowel has arisen out of a contraction, and that the following word participates in it.

98. We have now to consider the alterations in the middle of words, i.e. those of the terminating letters of the roots and nominal bases before grammatical endings, and we find, with respect to these, most life, strength, and consciousness in the Sanscrit; and this language is placed on the highest point of antiquity, insomuch as the signification of every radical portion is still so strongly felt, that while it admits of moderate changes, for the avoiding of harshness, it never, if we except some vowel elisions, permits the radical sense to be obliterated, or

^{*} We cannot guide ourselves here by the original MSS., as these exhibit no separation of words, and entire verses are written together without interruption, as though they had only a series of senseless syllables, and no words of independent place and meaning. As we must depart from Indian practice, the more complete the more rational the separation.

rendered irrecognisable by concessions too great, or transitions too daring. Yet does the Sanscrit, more than any of its kindred, afford a field for the conflict of unsociable consonants, a conflict, however, which is honourably and strenuously maintained. The Vowels and weak consonants (§. 25.) of grammatical endings and suffixes exert no influence over preceding consonants; but strong consonants, if surd (§. 25.), require a tenuis, and if sonant a medial, Thus, at and we the admit only, of gutturals, before them. 平 k, not 电 kh, η g, ų gh; of dentals, only η l, not ų th, \mathbf{q} d, \mathbf{q} dh; while on the other hand, \mathbf{q} dh admits only $\mathbf{\eta}$ g, not 平 k, 天 kh, 平 gh; or cd, not 下 t, 平 th, 平 dh; or of labials, only $\forall b$, not $\forall p$, $\forall bh$; before them respectively. The roots and the nominal bases have to regulate their terminating letters by this law; and the occasion frequently presents itself, since, in comparison with the kindred languages, a far greater proportion of the roots connect the personal terminations immediately with the root; and also among the case terminations there are many which begin with consonants (भ्याम् bhyam, भिस् bhis, भ्यस् bhyas, सु su). To cite instances, the root चह ad, "to eat," forms चित्र admi, "I eat"; but not चहसि adsi (for s is surd), nor चहति ad-ti, चहच ad-tha, but चलित at-si, चलि at-ti, चल्च at-tha: on the other hand, in the imperative, and ad-dhi, "eat." The base us pad, "foot," forms, in the locative plural, पास pat-su, not पदस pad-su; on the other hand, महत् mahat, "great," forms, in the instrumental plural, महिन्स mahadbhis, not महत् भिस् mahat-bhis.

99. The Greek and Latin, as they have come down to us, have either altogether evaded this conflict of consonants, or exhibit, in most cases, with regard to the first of any two contiguous consonants a disposition to surrender it, or at least an indifference to its assistance towards the signification of the word, since they either abandon it altogether, or violently alter it, i.e. convey it beyond the limits of its

proper organ. These two languages afford fewer occasions for harsh unions of consonants than the Sanscrit, principally because, with the exception of 'EZ and 'IA in Greek, and ES, FER, VEL in Latin, as ϵ_{ς} - τi , ϵ_{σ} - $\mu \epsilon_{\nu}$, ϵ_{σ} - $\tau \epsilon_{\sigma}$, ϵ_{σ} - ϵ_{σ} - ϵ_{σ} , ϵ_{σ} - ϵ_{σ} ίσ-τε, est, estis, fer-t, fer-tis, vul-t, vul-tis, no root, terminated by a consonant, joins on its personal terminations, or any of them, without the aid of a connecting vowel. perf. pass. makes an exception, and requires euphonic alterations, which, in part, come within the natural limits recognised by the Sanscrit, and, in part, oversteps them. The gutturals and labials remain on the ancient footing, and before σ and τ observe the Sanscrit law of sound cited in §. 98.; according to which κ - σ (ξ), κ - τ , π - σ , π - τ are applied to roots ending in κ , γ , χ , or π , β , ϕ , because the mute σ or τ suffers neither medials nor aspirates before it; hence τέτριπσαι, τέτριπ-ται, from TPIB, τέτυκ-σαι, τέτυκ-ται, from TYX. The Greek, however, diverges from the Sanscrit in this, that μ does not leave the consonant which precedes it unaltered, but assimilates labials to itself, and converts the guttural, tenuis and aspirate into medials. For τέτυμ-μαι, τέτριμ-μαι, πέπλεγ-μαι, τέτυγ-μαι, we should, on Sanscrit principles, write (§. 98.) τέτυπ-μαι, τέτριβ-μαι, πεπλεκ-μαι, τετυχ-μαι. The t sounds carry concession too far, and abandon the Sanscrit, or original principle, as regards the gutturals; inasmuch as δ , θ , and $\zeta(\delta\sigma)$, instead of passing into τ before σ and τ , are extinguished before σ , and before τ and μ become σ (πέπεισ-ται, πέπει-σαι, πέπεισ-μαι, instead of πέπειτ-ται, πέπειτ-σαι, πεπειθ-μαι, or πεπειδ-μαι. The Greek declension affords occasion for the alteration of consonants only through the s of the nominative and the dative plural termination in σ_l ; and here the same principle holds good as in the case of the verb, and in the formation of words; kh and g become, as in Sanscrit, $k (\xi = \kappa - \zeta)$, and b and ph become p. The t sounds, on the other hand, contrary to the Sanscrit, and in accordance with the enfeebled condition, in this respect, of the Greek,

vanish entirely. We find $\pi o \dot{\upsilon} - \varsigma$ for $\pi \dot{\sigma} \tau - \varsigma$, $\pi o \upsilon - \sigma \dot{\iota}$ for $\pi o \tau - \sigma \dot{\iota}$, which latter naturally and originally must have stood for $\pi o \dot{\sigma} - \sigma$, $\pi o \dot{\sigma} - \sigma \iota$.

100. In Latin the principal occasion for the alteration of consonants presents itself before the s of the perfect and the t of the supine, or other verbal substantive or adjective (participles) beginning with t; and it is in accordance with the Sanscrit law cited §. 98, and the original condition of the language, that the sonant guttural passes, before s and t, into c, the sonant labial into p, as in rec-si (rexi), rectum from reg, scripsi, scriptum, from scrib. It is also in accordance with the Sanscrit that h, as a sonant (§. 25.), and incompatible with a tenuis, becomes c before s and t; compare vec-sit (vexit), with the word of like signification जवासीत a-vák-shît. If of the two terminating consonants of a root the last vanishes before the s of the perfect tense (mulsi from mulc and mulg, sparsi from sparg), this accords with the Sanscrit law of sounds, by which, of two terminating consonants of a nominal stem, the last vanishes before consonants of the case terminations. D ought to become t before s; and then the form, so theoretically created, claut-sit from claud, would accord with the Sanscrit forms, such as जतीसीत् a-taut-sit, "he tormented," from तुद् Instead, however, of this, the d allows itself to be extinguished; so, however, that, in compensation, a short vowel of the root is made long, as di-vi-si; or, which is less frequent, the d assimilates itself to the following s, as cessi from ced. With roots in t, which are rarer, assimilation usually takes place, as con-cus-si from cut; on the other hand, mī-si, not mis-si, for mit-si, from mit or mitt. B, m, and r also afford instances of assimilation in jus-si, pres-si, ges-si, us-si. A third resource, for the avoidance

^{*} Compare with the Sanscrit, in which 34 ush signifies "burn": the sibilant must here pass for the original form.

of an union, very natural, but not endurable in this weakened state of the language, ts, is the suppression of the latter of these two letters, which is also compensated by the lengthening of a short radical vowel; thus, sēdi from sed, vidi from vid. I believe, at least, that these forms are not derivable from sedui, vidui, and I class them with forms like fodi from fod, lēgi, for lec-si, from leg, fugi, for fuc-si, from fug. To these probably also belong cāvi, fāvi, fovi, pāvi, vōvi, from căv, &c. A cavui, &c. is hardly conceivable; cavi could never have had such an origin. jecture forms such as cau-si, fau-si, after the analogy of cautum, fautum; or moc-si (moxi), after the analogy of vic-si, con-nic-si. (§. 19.) Possibly a moc-si form might derive probability from the adverb mox, as the latter probably is derived from mov, as cito is from another root of motion. The c of fluc-si, struc-si, (fluxi, &c.) fluxum, structum, must, in the same manner, be considered as an hardening of v; and a flu-vo, stru-vo, be presupposed, with regard to which it is to be remembered, that, in Sanscrit also, uv often developes itself out of **u** before vowels (Gram. Crit. r. 50.^b); on which principle, out of flu, stru, before vewels, we might obtain fluv, struv, and thence before consonants fluc, struc. Thus, also, fructus out of fruv-or, for fru-or. In cases of t preceded by consonants, the suppression of s is the rule, and ar-si for ard-i an exception. Prandi, frendi, pandi, verti, &c. are in contrast to ar-si and other forms, like mulsi above mentioned, in their preserving the radical letter in preference to the auxiliary verb; and they accord in this with the Sanscrit rule of sound, by which the s of चतीसम् ataut-sam, चर्चेप्यम् akshaip-sam, &c., for the avoidance of hardness, is suppressed before strong consonants, and we find, for instance, walk ataut-ta, instead of walks ataut-The perfects scidi, fidi, are rendered doubtful by their short vowel, and in their origin probably belong to the reduplicated preterites, their first syllable having

perished in the lapse of time: in other respects, fidi, scidi, correspond to tutudi, pupugi, not to say tetigi, since the i of this latter is not original.

101. The suffixes employed in the formation of words and beginning with t, for the representation of which the supine may stand, deserve special consideration, in regard of the relations of sound generated by the conflict between t and the preceding consonant. According to the original law observed in the Sanscrit, a radical t ought to remain unaltered before tum, and d should pass into t; as, λ bhettum, "to cleave," from fire bhid. According to the degenerated practice of the Greek, a radical d or t before t would become s. Of this second gradation we find a remnant in comes-tus, comes-tura, analogous to es-t, es-tis, &c. from edo: we find, however, no comes-tum, comes-tor, but in their place comesum, comesor. We might question whether, in comesum, the s belonged to the root or to the suffix; whether the d of ed, or the t of tum, had been changed The form com-es-tus might argue the radicality of the s; but it is hard to suppose that the language should have jumped at once from estus to ēsus, between which two an essus probably intervened, analogous to cessum, fissum, quassum, &c., while the t of tum, tus, &c. assimilated itself Out of essum has arisen ēsum, by the to the preceding s. suppression of an s, probably the first; for where of a pair of consonants the one is removed, it is generally the first, (εἰμί from ἐσμί, πο-σί from ποδ-σί,) possibly because, as in §. 100, an auxiliary verb is abandoned in preference to a After that the language had, letter of the main verb. through such forms as ē-sum, cā-sum, divī-sum, fis-sum, quassum, habituated itself to an s in suffixes properly beginning with a t, s might easily insinuate itself into forms where it did not owe its origin to assimilation. Cs(x) is a favourite combination; hence, fic-sum, nec-sum, &c. for fic-The liquids, m excepted, evince special inclitum, nec-tum.

nation for a succeeding s, most of all the r; hence, ter-sum, mer-sum, cur-sum, par-sum, ver-sum, in contrast to par-tum, tor-tum: there are also cases in which r, by a conversion into s, accommodates itself to t, as in ges-tum, us-tum, tos-tum.* This answers to the Sanscrit obligatory conversion of a concluding r into s before an initial t; as, where the same bhrâtas târaya mâm, "brother save me," instead of with bhrâtar: on the other hand, in the middle of words r remains unaltered before t; hence, for instance, why bhartum, not with bhastum, "to bear." L exhibits in the Latin the forms fal-sum, pul-sum, vul-sum, in contrast to cul-tum; n exhibits ten-tum, can-tum, opposed to man-sum. The other forms in n-sum, except cen-sum, have been mulcted of a radical d, as ton-sum, pen-sum.

102. In the Germanic languages, t alone gives occasion for an euphonic conversion of a preceding radical consonant; for instance, in the 2d pers. sing. of the strong preterite, where, however, the t in the Old High German is retained only in a few verbs, which associate a present signification with the form of the preterite. In the weak preterites, also, which spring from these verbs, the auxiliary & where it remains unaltered, generates the same euphonic relations. We find in these forms the Germanic on the same footing as the Greek, in this respect, that it converts radical t sounds (t, th, d, and in Old and Middle High German z also) before a superadded t into s. Hence, for instance, in Gothic maimais-t (abscidisti), for maimait-t, fai-fals-t (plicavisti), for fai-falth-t, ana-baus-t (imperasti), for ana-baud-t. In Old and Middle High German weis-t, "thouk nowest," for weiz-t. The Gothic, in forming out of the root vit, in the weak preterite vis-sa ("I knew"), instead of vista, from vitta, re-

^{*} The obvious relationship of torreo with τέρσομαι, and τε trish from τατελ, argues the derivation of the latter r from s. Upon that of uro from τα ush, see §.97.

sembles, in respect of assimilation, the Latin forms mentioned in §. 101., such as quas-sum for quas-tum, from quat-tum. The Old High German, however, which also adopts mis-sa, but from muoz makes not muos-sa, but muo-sa, corresponds, in the latter case, to such Latin forms, as ca-sum, clau-sum. The case is different in Old High German with those verbs of the first weak conjugation, which, having their syllables made long generally through two terminating consonants in the preterite, apply the t of the auxiliary verb directly to the root. Here the transition of t into s does not occur, but t, z, and even d, remain unaltered; and only when another consonant precedes them t and d are extinguished, z on the contrary remains; for instance, leit-ta, "Duxi," ki-neiz-ta, "AFFLIXI," ar-6d-ta, "VASTAVI," walz-ta, "VOLVI," liuh-ta, "LUXI," for liuht-ta; hul-ta, "PLACAVI," for huld-ta. Of doubled consonants one only is retained, and of ch or cch only h; other consonantal combinations remain, however, undisturbed, as ran-ta, "cucurri," for rann-ta; wanhta, "VACILLAVI," for wanch-ta; dah-ta, "TEXI," for dacch-ta. The Middle High German follows essentially the same principles, only a simple radical t gives way before the auxiliary verb, and thus lei-te is opposed to the Old High German leit-ta; on the other hand, in roots in ld and rd the d may be maintained, and the t of the auxiliar be surrendered—as dulde, "TOLERAVI" —unless we admit a division of dul-de, and consider the d as a softened t. The change of g into c (§. 98.) is natural, but not universal; for instance, anc-te, "ARCTAVI," for ang-te; but against this law b remains unaltered. Before the formative suffixes beginning with t,* both in Gothic and High German, guttural and labial tenues and medials are changed into their aspirates, although the tenuis accord with a following t.

^{*} With the exception of the High German passive part. of the weaker form, which, in the adjunction of its t to the root, follows the analogy of the pret. above described.

Thus, for instance, in Gothic, vah-tvô, "watch," from vak: sauh-t(i)s, "sickness," from suk; mah-t(i)s, "might," from mag; ga-skaf-t(i)s, "creation," from skap; fragif-t(i)s, "betrothment," from gib, softened from gab; Old High German suht, maht, ki-skaft, "creature," kift, "gift." The dentals replace the aspirate th by the sibilant (s), as is the case in Gothic before the pers. character t of the preterite, as th cannot be combined with t. The formation of words, however, affords few examples of this kind: under this head comes our mast, related to the Gothic mats, "food," and matjan, "to eat." In Gothic, the s of blostreis, "worshipper," springs from the t of $bl\partial tan$, "to worship": beist, "leaven," comes probably from beit (beitan, "to bite," Grimm, ii. p. 208.). The Zend accords, in this respect, with the Germanic, but still more with the Greek, in that it converts its t sounds into ws, not only before ot, but also before G m; for instance, גינטטג irista, "dead," from the root אנעען ש basta, " bound," from נענען bandh, with the nasal excluded; as in Modern Persian, بسته besteh, from אָנע bend; אוּגעאט alima, "wood," from אונע idhma.

103. It is a violation of one of the most natural laws of sound, that, in Gothic, the medial g does not universally pass into k or h (=ch), before the personal character t of the pret., but generally is retained; and we find, for instance, bg-t, "thou fearest," mag-t, "thou canst"; and yet, before other inflections formed with t, the g undergoes an euphonic transition into h, as for instance, bh-ta, "I feared," mah-ts, "might."

104. When in Sanscrit, according to §. 98, the aspiration of a medial undergoes a necessary suppression, it falls back, under certain conditions and according to special laws, upon the initial consonant of the root, yet only upon a medial, or throws itself onward on the initial consonant of

^{*} No other roots in g in this person are to be found in Ulfilas.

the following suffix. We find, for instance, भोस्यामि bhotsyami, "I shall know," for चोध्यामि bodh-syami; वेदभूत् vedabhut, "knowing the vedas," for go budh; go bud-dha, "knowing," for पुष्त budhta; भोस्पामि dhok-shyami, "I shall milk," for दोहस्यामि dôh-syâmi; दुग्च dug-dha, "milked," for दृहत duh-ta. In Greek we find a remarkable relic of the first part of the transposition of the aspirate,* in the necessary suppression of the aspirate in some roots which begin with t and end with an aspirate before σ , τ , and μ , letters which admit of no union with an aspirate, and in its being thrown back on the initial letter, by which process τ becomes θ . Hence, τρέφω, θρέπ-σω, (θρέψω), θρεπτήρ, θρέμ-μα; ταφή, θάπτω, ἐτάφην, τέθαμ-μαι; τρύφος, θρύπ-τω, ἐτρύφην, θρύμ-μα; τρέχω, θρέξομαι; θρίξ, τριχός, ταχύς, θάσσων. In the spirit of this transposition of the aspirate, ex obtains the spiritus asper when χ is obliged to merge in the tenuis, ($\epsilon \kappa \tau \delta \varsigma$, $\epsilon \xi \omega$, $\epsilon \xi \iota \varsigma$).

^{*} See J. L. Burnouf in the Asiatic Journal III. 368; and Buttman, pp. 77, 78.

[†] It is usual to explain this appearance by the supposition of two aspirations in the root of these forms, of which one only is supposed to appear in deference to the euphonic law which forbids the admission of two consecutive aspirated syllables. This one would be the last of the two, and the other would only shew itself when the latter had been forced to merge in the tenuis. Opposed, however, to this explanation is the fact, that, on account of the inconvenience of accumulated aspirates, the language has guarded itself in the original formation of its roots against the evil, and has never admitted an aspirated consonant at once for the initial and termination of a root. In Sanscrit, the collection of whose roots is complete, there is no such instance. The forms, however, ἐθάφθην, τεθάφθαι, τεθάφθω, τεθάφαται, τεθράφθαι, ἐθρέφθην, present a difficulty. perhaps, are eccentricities of usage, which, once habituated to the initial aspiration by its frequent occurrence under the suppression of the terminating, began to assume its radicality, and extended it wider than was legitimate. We might also say, that since $\phi\theta$ (as $\chi\theta$) is so favourite a combination in Greek that it is even substituted for $\pi\theta$ and $\beta\theta$ —while, according to §. 98, an original $\phi\theta$ ought to become $\pi\theta$ —on this ground the tendency to aspiration of the root remained unsatisfied by ἐτάφθην &c.; and as if the ϕ only existed out of reference to the θ , the original terminating aspirate necessarily fell back on the radical initial. This theory, which seems to me sound, would only leave τεθάφαται to be explained.

OF THE ROOTS.

105. There are in Sanscrit, and the languages which are akin to it, two classes of roots: from the one, which is by far the more numerous, spring verbs, and nouns (substantives and adjectives) which stand in fraternal connection with the verbs, not in the relation of descent from them, not begotten by them, but sprung from the same shoot with them. We term them, nevertheless, for the sake of distinction, and according to prevailing custom, Verbal Roots; and the verb, too, stands in close formal connection with them, because from many roots each person of the present is formed by simply adding the requisite personal termination. From the second class spring pronouns, all original prepositions, conjunctions, and particles: we name them Pronominal Roots, because they all express a pronominal idea, which, in the prepositions, conjunctions, and particles, lies more or less concealed. simple pronouns can be carried back, either according to their meaning or their form, to any thing more general, but their declension-theme (or inflective base) is at the same time their root. The Indian Grammarians, however, derive all words, the pronouns included from verbal roots, although the majority of pronominal bases, even in a formal respect, are opposed to such a derivation, because they, for the most part, end with a: one, indeed, consists simply of a. Among the verbal roots, however, there is not a single one in \check{a} , although long a, and all other vowels, with du excepted, occur among the final letters of the verbal roots. dental external identity takes place between the verbal and pronominal roots; e.g. \ i signifies, as a verbal root, "to go," as a pronominal root, "he," "this."

106. The verbal roots, like those of the pronouns, are

monosyllabic; and the polysyllabic forms represented by the grammarians as roots contain either a reduplicatesyllable, as जाग jagri, "to wake," or a preposition which has grown up with the root, as अवधीर ava-dhîr, "to despise;" or they have sprung from a noun, like and kumar, "to play," which I derive from and kumara, "a boy." Except the law of their being monosyllabic, the Sanscrit roots are subjected to no farther limitation, and their one-syllableness may present itself under all possible forms, in the shortest and most extended, as well as those of a middle degree. This free state of irrestriction was necessary, as the language was to contain within the limits of onesyllableness the whole body of fundamental ideas. The simple vowels and consonants were not sufficient: it was requisite to frame roots also where several consonants, combined in inseparable unity, became, as it were, simple sounds; e.g. will stha, "to stand," a root in which the age of the co-existence of the s and th is supported by the unanimous testimony of all the members of our race of languages. So also, in tark skand, "to go," (Lat. scand-o) the age of the combination of consonants both in the beginning and ending of the root, is certified by the agreement of the Latin with the Sanscrit. The proposition, that in the earliest period of language a simple vowel is sufficient to express a verbal idea, is supported by the remarkable concurrence of nearly all the individuals of the Sanscrit family of languages in expressing the idea "to go" by the root i.

107. The nature and peculiarity of the Sanscrit verbal roots explains itself still more by comparison with those of the Semitic languages. These require, as far as we trace back their antiquity, three consonants, which, as I have already elsewhere shewn,* express the fundamental

^{*} Trans. of the Hist. Phil. Class of the R. A. of Litt. of Berlin for the year 1824, p. 126, &c.

idea by themselves alone, without the aid of vowels; and although they may be momentarily compressed into one syllable, still, in this, the combination of the middle radical with the first or last cannot be recognised as original and belonging to the root, because it is only transitory, and chiefly depends on the mechanism of the construction of Thus in Hebrew, katul, "slain," in the fem., on account of the addition ah contracts itself to ktûl (ktûlah); while kôtêl, "slaying," before the same addition, compresses itself in an opposite manner, and forms kollah. Neither ktûl, therefore, nor kôtl, can be regarded as the root; and just as little can it be looked for in ktôl, as the status constructus of the infinitive; for this is only a shortening of the absolute form kától, produced by a natural tendency to pass hastily to the word governed by the infinitive, which, as it were, has grown to it. In the imperative ktôl the abbreviation is not external, subject to mechanical conditions, but more dynamic, and occasioned by the hurry with which a command is usually enunciated. In the Semitic languages, in decided opposition to those of the Sanscrit family, the vowels belong, not to the root, but to the grammatical motion, the secondary ideas, and the mechanism of the construction of the word. By them, for example, is distinguished, in Arabic, katala, "he slew," from kutila, "he was slain;" and in Hebrew, kôtêl, "slaying," from kôtûl, "slain." A Semitic root is unpronounceable, because, in giving it vowels, an advance is made to a special grammatical form, and it then no longer possesses the simple peculiarity of a root raised above all grammar. But in the Sanscrit family of languages, if its oldest state is consulted in the languages which have continued most pure, the root appears as a circumscribed nucleus, which is almost unalterable, and which surrounds itself with foreign syllables, whose origin we must investigate, and whose destination is, to express the secondary ideas of grammar which the root itself cannot express.

The vowel, with this or that consonant, and sometimes without any consonant whatever, belongs to the fundamental meaning: it can be lengthened to the highest degree, or raised by Guna or Vriddhi; and this lengthening or raising, and, more lately, the retention of an original a, opposed to its weakening to i or change to u (§§. 66, 67.), belongs not to the denoting of grammatical relations, which require to be more clearly pointed out, but, as I imagine I can prove, only to the mechanism, the symmetry of construction.

108. As the Semitic roots, on account of their construction, possess the most surprising capacity for indicating the secondary ideas of grammar by the mere internal moulding of the root, of which they also make extensive use, while the Sanscrit roots, at the first grammatical movement, are compelled to assume external additions; so must it appear strange, that F. von Schlegel*, while he divides languages in general into two chief races, of which the one denotes the secondary intentions of meaning by an internal alteration of the sound of the root by inflexion, the other always by the addition of a word, which may by itself signify plurality, past time, what is to be in future, or other relative ideas of that kind, allots the Sanscrit and its sisters to the former race, and the Semitic languages to the second. "There may, indeed," he writes, p. 48, "arise an appearance of inflexion, when the annexed particles are melted down with the chief word so as to be no longer distinguishable; but where in a language, as in the Arabic, and in all which are connected with it, the first and most important relations, as those of the person to verbs, are denoted by the addition of particles which have a meaning for themselves individually, and the tendency to which suffixes shews itself deeply seated in the language, it may there be safely assumed that the same may have

^{*} In his work on the language and wisdom of the Indians.

occurred in other positions, where the annexation of particles of a foreign nature no longer admits of such clear discrimination: one may at least safely assume that the language, on the whole, belongs to this chief race, although in this single point, by admixture or artificial adornment, it has adopted another and a higher character." We must here preliminarily observe, that, in Sanscrit and the languages connected with it, the personal terminations of the verbs shew at least as great a similarity to isolated pronouns as in Arabic. How should any language, which expresses the pronominal relations of the verbs by syllables annexed either at the beginning or end of the word, in the choice of these syllables avoid, and not rather select, those which, in their isolated state, also express the corresponding pronominal ideas? By inflexion, F. von Schlegel understands the internal alteration of the sound of the root, or (p. 35) the internal modification of the root, which he (p. 48) opposes to addition from without. But when from δο or δω, in Greek, comes δίδω-μι, δώ-σω, δο-θησόμεθα, what are the forms μι, σω, θησόμεθα, but palpable external additions to the root, which is not at all internally altered, or only in the quantity of the vowel? If, then, by inflexion, an internal modification of the root is to be understood, the Sanscrit and Greek &c. have in that case—except the reduplication, which is taken from the middle of the root itself—scarce any inflexion at all to shew. If, however, $\theta\eta\sigma\delta\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$ is an external modification of the root δo , simply because it is combined with it, touches it, with it expresses a whole; then the idea of sea and continent may be represented as an internal modification of the sea, and vice versa. P. 50, F. von Schlegel remarks: "In the Indian or Grecian language every root is truly that which the name says, and like a living germ; for since the ideas of relation are denoted by internal alteration, freer room is given for development, the fulness of which can be indefinitely

extended, and is, in fact, often wondrously rich. All, however, which in this manner proceeds from the simple root, still retains the stamp of its relationship, adheres to it, and thus reciprocally bears and supports itself." I find, however, the inference not established; for from the capability of expressing ideas of relation by internal alteration of the root, how can the capability be deduced of surrounding the (internally unalterable) root indefinitely, with foreign syllables externally added? What kind of stamp of relationship is there between $\mu \iota$, $\sigma \omega$, $\theta \eta \sigma \delta \mu \epsilon \theta \alpha$, and the roots to which these significative additions are appended? We therefore recognise in the inflections of the Sanscrit family of languages no internal involutions of the root, but elements of themselves significative, and the tracing of the origin of which is the task of scientific grammar. But even if the origin of not a single one of these inflections could be traced with certainty, still the principle of the formation of grammar, by external addition, would not, for that reason, be the less certain, because, at the first glance, in the majority of inflections, one discovers at least so much, that they do not belong to the root, but have been added from without. A. W. von Schlegel, also, who, in essential points, assents to the above-mentioned division of languages," gives us to understand, with regard to the so-called

^{*} Nevertheless in his work, "Observations sur la langue et la litterature provençales," p. 14, &c., he gives three classes, viz. Les langues sans aucune structure grammaticale, les langues qui emploient des affixes, et les langues à inflexions. Of the latter, he says: "Je pense, cependant, qu'il faut assigner le premier rang aux langues à inflections. On pourroit les appeler les langues organiques, parce qu'elles renferment un principe vivant de développement et d'accroissement, et qu'elles ont seules, si je puis m'exprimer ainsi, une végétation abondante et féconde. Le merveilleux artifice de ces langues est, de former une immense variété de mots, et de marquer la liaison des idées que ces mots désignent, moyennant un assez petit nombre de syllabes qui, considérées séparément,

inflexions, that they are not modifications of the root, but foreign additions, whose characteristic lies in this, that regarded, per se, they have no meaning. In the Semitic, the appended grammatical syllables or inflections have no meaning, at least in so far that they do not, as in Sanscrit, occur isolated in a completely similar state. In Arabic, for instance, antum, and not tum, is said for "ye"; and in Sanscrit ma, ta, and not mi, ti, are the declinable bases of the first and third person; and at-Ti, "he eats," has the same relation to TA-m, "him," that in Gothic IT-a, "I eat," has to the monosyllabic AT, "I ate." The reason for weakening the a of the base to i is probably, in the different cases of the two sister languages, the same, viz. the greater extent of the form of word with i (comp. If, then, the division of languages made by F. von Schlegel is untenable, on the reasons on which it is founded, still there is much ingenuity in the thought of a natural history or classification of languages. We prefer, however, to present, with A. W. von Schlegel (l. c.), three classes, and distinguish them as follows: first, languages with monosyllabic roots, without the capability of contraction, and hence without organism, without grammar. This class comprises Chinese, where all is hitherto bare root, and the grammatical categories, and secondary relations after the

séparément, n'ont point de signification, mais qui déterminent avec précision le sens du mot auquel elles sont jointes. En modifiant les lettres radicales, et en ajoutant aux racines des syllabes dérivatives, on forme des mots dérivés de diverses espèces, et des dérivés des dérivés. On compose des mots de plusieurs racines pour exprimer les idées complexes. Ensuite on décline les substantifs, les adjectifs, et les pronoms, par genres, par nombres, et par cas; on conjugue les verbes par voix, par modes, par temps, par nombres, et par personnes, en employant de même des désinences et quelquefois des augmens qui, séparément, ne signifient rien. Cette méthode procure l'avantage d'énoncer en un seul mot l'idée principale, souvent déjà très-modifiée et très-complexe, avec tout son cortége d'idées accessoires et de relations variables.

main point, can only be discovered from the position of the roots in the sentence.* Secondly, languages with monosyllabic roots, which are capable of combination, and obtain their organism and grammar nearly in this way alone. The chief principle of the formation of words, in this class, appears to me to lie in the combination of verbal and pronominal roots, which together represent, as it were, body and soul. (Comp. §. 100.) To this class belongs the Sanscrit family of languages, and moreover all other languages, so far as they are not comprehended under 1. and 3., and have maintained themselves in a condition which renders it possible to trace back their forms of words to the simplest elements. Thirdly, languages with dissyllabic verbal roots, and three necessary consonants as single supporters of the fundamental meaning. This class comprehends merely the Semitic languages, and produces its grammatical forms, not simply by combination, like the second class, but by a mere internal modification of the roots. We here gladly award to the Sanscrit family of languages a great superiority over the Semitic, which we do not, however, find in the use of inflections as syllables per se devoid of meaning, but in the copiousness of these grammatical additions, which are really significative, and connected with words used isolated; in the judicious, ingenious selection and application of them, and the accurate and acute defining of various relations, which hereby becomes possible; finally, in the beautiful adjustment of these additions to a harmonious whole, which bears the appearance of an organized body.

109^a. The Indian Grammarians divide the roots according to properties, which extend only to the tenses which

^{*} We find this view of the Chinese admirably elucidated in W. von Humboldt's talented pamphlet, "Lettre à M. Abet Remusat, sur la nature des formes grammaticales en général, et sur le génie de la langue chinoise."

I call the special tenses,* and to the part. pres., into ten classes, all of which we have re-discovered in the Zend also, and examples of which are given in the following paragraph. We shall here give the characteristics of the Sanscrit classes, and compare with them those which correspond in the European sister languages.

(1.) The first and sixth class add \mathbf{w} a to the root; and we reserve the discussion of the origin of this and other conjugational affixes for the disquisition on the verb. The point of difference between the first class of nearly 1000 roots (almost the half of the entire number) and the sixth class, which contains about 130 roots, lies in this, that the former raise the vowel of the root by Guna (§. 26.), while the latter retain it pure; e.g. what bodhati, "he knows," from you budh (1.); gefn tudati, "he vexes" (comp. tundit), from Is tud (6.) As we a has no Guna, no discrimination can take place through this vowel between the classes 1. and 6.: but nearly all the roots which belong to either, having wa as the radical vowel, are reckoned in the first class. In Greek, ϵ (before nasals o, §. 3.) corresponds to the affix $\forall a$; and λείπ-ο-μεν,† φεύγ-ο-μεν, from ΛΙΠ, ΦΥΓ (ἔλιπον, ἔφυγον), belong to the first class, because they have Guna (§. 26.); while, e.g. $\theta i \gamma$ -o- $\mu \epsilon \nu$, $\theta \lambda i \beta$ -o- $\mu \epsilon \nu$, &c., fall under the sixth In Latin we recognise, in the third conjugation, which I would raise to the first, the cognate of the Sanscrit first and sixth class, since we regard the addition i as a

^{*} In Greek, the present (indic. imper. and optat., the form of the Greek conjunct. is wanting in Sanscrit) and imperfect correspond to them; beyond which certain conjugation-signs do not extend. In German, the present of every mood corresponds.

[†] We give the plural, because the singular, on account of abbreviation, makes the thing less perspicuous.

[‡] Sanscrit long vowels admit Guna only at the end of the root, but in the beginning and middle remain without admixture of the $\mathbf{w}a$; so do short vowels before double consonants.

weakening of the old a (§. 8.); and e.g. legimus has the same relation to $\lambda \dot{\epsilon} \gamma$ -o- $\mu \epsilon \nu$, that the genitive ped-is has to $\pi o \delta$ - $\delta \varsigma$, where the Sanscrit has likewise a (ucu pad-as). In leg-u-nt, from leg-a-nti, the old a, through the influence of the liquid, has become u. (Comp. §. 66.) In German, all the primitive (strong) verbs, with the exception of some remains of the fourth class (No. 2.), stand in clear connection with the Sanscrit first class, which is here, for the first time, laid down in its full extent.* The a which is added to the root has, in Gothic[†], before some personal terminations, remained unchanged; before others, according to §. 67, and as in Latin, been weakened to i; so, hait-a, "I am called," hait-i-s, hait-i-th; 2d pers. du. hait-a-ts; pl. hait-a-m, hait-i-th, The root-vowels i and u keep the Guna addition, as in Sanscrit, only that the a which gives the Guna is here weakened to i (§. 27.), which, with a radical i, is aggregated into a long i (written ei, §. 70.): hence keina (=kina, from kiina), "I germinate," from KIN; biuga, " I bend," from BUG, Sanscrit भूज bhuj, whence भूग्न bhugna, The diphthongs ai, au, as in Sanscrit e and wi (§. 2.), are incapable of any Guna; as are ℓ (= \mathbf{w} , §. 69.) and a. The Sanscrit radical vowel w a has, however, in Gothic, experienced a threefold destiny. It has either remained unaltered in the special tenses, and is lengthened in the preterite, except in reduplicate roots (i.e. to 6, see §. 69.) thus, e.g. far-i-th, "he wanders," answers to Till charati

^{*} I have already, in my Review of Grimm's Grammar, expressed the conjecture that the a of forms like haita, haitam, haitaima, &c. does not belong to the personal termination, but is identical with the a of the Sanscrit 1st and 6th classes; but I was not then clear regarding the Guna in the present in all roots with vowels capable of Guna. (See Ann. for Crit. of Litt. Book II. pp. 282 and 259.)

[†] We make frequent mention of the Gothic alone as the true starting-point and light of German Grammar. The application to the High German will hereafter present itself.

(§. 14.), and for, "he wandered," to THE chachara; or, secondly, the old a shews itself in the special tenses weakened to i, but retained in the monosyllabic singular of the preterite: so that here the stronger a (§. 8.) corresponds to the weaker i in the same way that, in the first case, the δ (= \mathbf{w} δ) does to the short a. The root \mathbf{w} ϵ ad, "to eat," in Gothic, according to §. 87, forms AT; hence, in the present, ita; in the sing. pret., at, as-t, at. The third fate which befalls the a of the root in Gothic is a complete extirpation, and compensation by the weaker i, which is treated like an original i, existing in the Sanscrit; i.e. in the special tenses it receives Guna by i, and in the pret. sing. by a (§. 27.), but in the pret. pl. it is preserved pure. Here belongs the KIN, "to germinate," mentioned above, pres. keina, pret. sing. kain, pl. kin-um. The corresponding Sanscrit root is जन jan, "to produce," "to be born" (see §. 87.); the same relation, too, has greipa, graip, gripum, from GRIP, "to seize," to my grabh (Vêda form): on the other hand, BIT, "to bite," * (beita, bait, bitum), has an original i, which exists in Sanscrit (comp. far bhid, "to cleave"); just so, VIT, "to know," Sanscrit विद् vid.

(2.) The fourth class of Sanscrit roots adds to them the syllable $\forall ya$, and herein agrees with the special tenses of the passive; and from the roots which belong to it spring chiefly neuter verbs, as e.g. $\forall yaft \ nasyati$, "he perishes." Their number amounts altogether to about 130. The German has preserved one unmistakeable remnant of this class, in those strong verbs which lay aside, in the preterite, the syllable ja (weakened to ji), which is added to the root in the special tenses; e.g. vahs-ja (Zend passion) ucs-yain, "crescebant," Vendidad S. p. 257), "cresco," vahs-ji-th, "crescit," pret. võhs.

^{*} Occurs only with the prep. and, and with the meaning "to scold," but corresponds to the Old High German root BIZ, "to bite."

(3.) The second, third, and seventh classes add the personal termination direct to the root; but in the kindred European languages, to facilitate the conjugation, these classes have mainly passed over to the first class; e.g. ed-i-mus, not ed-mus (as a remnant of the old construction es-t, es-tis), Gothic it-a-m, Old High German iz-a-mes, not iz-mes, answering to the Sanscrit was ad-mas. The second class, to which we ad belongs, leaves the root without any characteristic addition, with Guna of the vowels capable of Guna before light terminations, which must be hereafter explained; hence, e.g. एनि êmi, corresponding to इमस imas, from इ i, " to go," as in Greek eim to inev. It contains not more than about seventy roots, partly terminating in consonants, partly The Greek exhibits, in this and the third-class in vowels. roots, almost entirely ending in vowels, as the above mentioned I, ΦA , $\Gamma N\Omega$ ($\gamma v \hat{\omega} - \theta \iota$), $\Delta \Omega$, ΣTA , ΘH , $\Phi \Upsilon$ ($\tilde{\epsilon} \phi \nu \nu$), $\Delta \Upsilon$, To the consonants the direct combination with the consonants of the termination has become too heavy, and 'EZ alone (because facile to $\sigma\mu$, $\sigma\tau$) has remained in the Sanscrit second class, as the corresponding root in Latin, Lithuanian, and German. Hence, with asti, eori, Lithuan. esti, est, Gothic and High German ist. In the Latin there fall also to the second class, I, DA, STA; also In-quam, whence QUA, weakened to QUI, is the root, which, in Gothic, appears as $QU \triangle T$, weakened to QUIT, with the accretion of a T. FER and VEL (VUL) have preserved some persons of the ancient construction.* The third class is distinguished from the second by a syllable of reduplication in the special tenses, and has maintained itself under this form in Greek In Sanscrit it comprehends about also, and Lithuanian.

^{*} Five roots of the second class introduce in Sanscrit, between the consonants of the root and the personal termination, an ξ i, as diffin rôd-imi, "I weep," from $\xi\xi$ rud. I can, however, no longer believe that the i of the Latin third conjug. is connected with this ξ i, as there is scarce any doubt of its relationship with the ξ a of the very copious first class.

twenty roots; e.g. τειθη dadami, δίδωμι, Lithuanian dudu; τίθημι (§. 16.); ππίση jajanmi, "I beget," comp. γί-γν-ο-μαι. The seventh class, of about twenty-four roots, introduces, in the special tenses, a nasal into the root, which is extended from the light personal terminations to the syllable na; e.g. στηθη bhinadmi, "I cleave," στημη bhinadma, "we cleave." The Latin has kept the weaker form of this nasalization, but has further added to the root the affix of the first class (p. 114); hence findo, find-i-mus. From the Greek come here to be regarded roots, like MAΘ, ΛΑΒ, ΘΙΓ, in which the inserted nasal has been repeated further on in the word, with the prefixed α, and, like the Latin find-i-mus, is connected with the affix of the first class; thus, μανθ-άν-ο-μεν, λαμβ-αν-ο-μεν, θιγγ-άν-ο-μεν.

- (4.) The fifth class, of about thirty roots, has nu; and the eighth, with ten roots, which, excepting skri, "to make," all terminate in π n or π n, has u for its characteristic addition: the u, however, of these two classes is lengthened before the light terminations by Guna, which in the corresponding Greek appended syllables, vu and u, is supplied by lengthening the v; thus, e.g. $\delta \epsilon_i \kappa \nu \nu \mu \epsilon \nu$, as in Sanscrit आप्रोमि åp-nô-mi, "ad-ip-is-cor," आप्रुमस् åp-nu-mas, " adipiscimur." An example of the eighth class is, तन् tan, "to extend," whence naile $tan-\hat{o}-mi = \tau \acute{a}v-\upsilon-\mu$, ngan tanu-mas = $\tau \acute{a}v$ -v- $\mu \epsilon \varsigma$. With the τu , v, of the eighth class, is probably connected the v in some Gothic strong verbs, where, however, it adheres so firmly to the root, that, in a German point of view, it must be regarded as a radical. Hence it is not dropped in the preterite, and receives, in the special tenses, like all strong verbs, the affix of the Sanscrit first class; e.g. saihva, "I see," sahv, "I saw."
- (5.) The ninth class adds $\pi n\hat{a}$ to the root, which syllable, before heavy terminations, instead of being shortened to $\pi n\hat{a}$, replaces the heavy $\pi n\hat{a}$ by the lighter $\hat{\xi} \hat{i}$ (§. 6.), and is thus weakened to $\pi \hat{n}\hat{n}$. E.g. from $\pi \xi mrid$, "to

- grind," (comp. mordeo) comes দুইনানি mridnâmi, দুইনীনম্ mridnâmi. In this is easily perceived the relationship with Greek formations in νημι (ναμι) ναμεν; e.g. δάμνημι, δάμναμεν. As α, ε, and o, are originally one, formations like τέμ-νομεν belong to this class, only that they have wandered into the more modern ω-conjugation at a remote period of antiquity; for more lately νεω would not have become νω from νημι.
- (6.) The tenth class adds wa aya to the root, but is distinguished from the other classes in this farther important point, that this affix is not limited to the special tenses: the final a of जय aya is peculiar to them, but जय ay extends, with very few exceptions, to all the other formations of the root. All causals, and many denominatives, follow this class, and, indeed, from every root a causal can be formed by the addition way, which is always accompanied by Guna of the middle vowel of the root capable of Guna, or by Vriddhi of every radical final vowel and of a middle a belonging to the root; e.g. वेदयति véd-aya-ti " he makes to know," from चिद् vid; आवयित śrâv-aya-ti, "he makes to hear," from siru. We recognise, in German, the affix we aya at least in two shapes: in the one the first a, in the other the last, is lost, and in the latter case y has become i; so that I have no longer any scruple in tracing back Grimm's first and third conjug. of a weak form to a common origin. According to all probability, however, the verbs also with the affix ô, (as Old High German manôn, "to mention," "to make to think,") belong here, regarding which we will speak further under the verb. The Old High German gives ℓ as the contraction of a + i, (see §. 78.) but retains its & more firmly than the Gothic its ai, which, in several persons, sinks into a simple a. Gothic haba, habam, haband, with Old High German hapem, hapemes, hapent. Very remarkable, however, is the concurrence of the Prâkrit with the Old High German and the Latin of the 2d conj. in this point, that it in like manner has

contracted the affix जय aya to ए é. Compare Sanscrit मानयामि mânayâmi, "I honour," Prâkrit माग्रीम mânêmi, "Old High German var-manêm, "I despise," Latin moneo:

| SANSCRIT. | PRAKRIT. | OLD HIGH GERMAN. | LATIN. |
|--------------------|-------------------|---------------------|---------|
| मानयामि månayåmi | मारोमि manêmi | var-manêm | moneo |
| मानयसि månayasi | माणिसि manési | manês | monês |
| मानयति månayati | माग्रेदि manedi | manêt | monet . |
| मानयामस् månayåmas | मार्थेम्ह manêmha | manêmes | monêmus |
| मानयच månayatha | मारोच māṇêdha | manêt | monêtis |
| मानयिन manayanti | मारोमि manenti | manênt | monent |

In regard to those weak verbs, which have suppressed the first vowel of the Sanscrit wa aya, and give therefore ya as affix, we will here further recall attention to the forms iga (ige), which occasionally occur in Old High German and Anglo Saxon, whose connection with wa aya, is to be traced thus, that the semi-vowel y has become hardened to g, (comp. §. 19.), and the preceding a weakened to i. In Greek, the cognate verbs to the Sanscrit of the tenth class are to

^{*} I am not at present able to adduce this verb from the edited texts; it is, however, certain, that manayami in this dialect can have no other sound but mânêmi. The conjugation is supported by other examples of this class, as chintêmi, "I think" (from chintayâmi), nivêdêmi (from nivêdayami). In the plural the termination mha is nothing else than the appended verb subst. (Sansc. smas, "we are"). In the third pers. pl., together with mânenti also the forms mânaanti and mânanti are admissible. The Indian Grammarians assume for the Sanscrit a root man, "to honour"; more probably, however, the verb, for which this root is supplied, is only a denominative from mana, "honour"; and this substantive itself a derivation from man, "to think," whence ava-man, "to despise," as in Old High German var-MAN (by Otfrid, fir-MON). The root, therefore, which is contained in varmanem is identical with the Gothic MAN (mun, "I mean," "think," pl. munum, see §. 66.). Here belongs, also, the Latin monere, as, "to make to think" (Old High German ma $n\delta n$), the radical o for a of which we explain by the principle of §. 66. (see, also, §. 3.); while the i of memin-i is a weakening of the original a, explained by §. 6.

be looked for in those in $\alpha\omega$, $\epsilon\omega$, ω ; in Latin, besides the 2d conjug. compared above, most verbs of the 1st and 4th also belong to this affinity. We shall recur to them when speaking of the verb.

109^b. In order to adduce single examples of the multiform construction of the roots, let us examine the order of the final letters; but we will select only such examples as are common to the Sanscrit and several sister languages. The greatest forbearance, however, is requisite, as an authenticated comparison of all that admits of comparison would easily swell to a book, which shall hereafter be devoted to this subject.*

(1.) Roots ending with a vowel:—

"There are, as has been already remarked (§. 105.), no roots in $\mathbf{w} a$; but roots in $\mathbf{w} a$ are numerous. Thus $\mathbf{m}^3 g a$, "to go," contained in the Latin navi-ga-re; also, perhaps, in fati-gare, the first member of which belongs to fatiscor, fessus; in Greek, βίβημι answers to সামা jagāmi, and rests on the frequent interchange of gutturals and labials; Goth. ga-thvô, "a street," (see p. 102.); Zend yowo gâ-tu, " a place," (nom. പാറ്റയര gātus); Old High German gā-m, "I go," = जगामि ja-gå-mi; not therefore, as Grimm conjectures (p. 868.), by syncope from gangu, but, with a more ancient and regular foundation, only with a suppression of the Sanscrit syllable of reduplication, introduced, therefore, from the third into the second class (see p. 117.), as in Latin, da-mus answering to δίδο-μεν. Thus, also, stá-m, stå-s, stå-t, in like manner, with suppressed reduplication, corresponds to i-στη-μι (for σίστημι), and to the Sanscrit root स्या sthâ, which is irregularly inflected, तिशाम tishthâmi, तिष्ठसि tishthasi, तिष्ठति tishthati, for tasthami, tasthasi, tasthati,

^{*} Somewhat that pertains here I have already put together very concisely at the end of my Sanscrit Glossary.

[†] The attached cyphers denote the classes described in §. 109°.

the particulars of which will be specified hereafter. Latin, in root and inflexion, most resembles the Old High German: the Zend, however, in its squeensw histami* (for sishtami, see §. 53.), appears in a genuine Greek dress. Observe, also, the באפששאט rathaestão, " warrior," which occurs so often in the Zend-Avesta, properly "chariotstander," with o for s as the sign of the nominative. How, then, in Old High German, comes from STA the lengthened form of the root STANT, whence the present stantu, "I stand," and preterite stuont, "I or he stood;" for which the Gothic has standa, stôth. will here only preliminarily remark, that we have observed in Zend also, in some roots terminating in a, an inclination to connect themselves with a t sound. we find, from wys ind, "to wash," "to purify," (Sanscrit w sna, "to bathe,") whence snata, "purified," in Vend. S. p. 233, frequently אלענען fra-snadhayen "lavent"; from يوليدكاروس dâ, " to lay," (Sans. **आ** dhâ, p. 118), we find ردولادكاروس nidaithyain, "deponant" (as, Vendidad S. p. 205 and 206, ארנטענטענטן און און ארנטענטענטענטענטענטענטענטענטענטן און און ארנענעטענטענטענטענטענען huske zeme nidaithyann, "in sicca terra deponant"): from the same root we find the imperative form אַנאַשטּאב, ni-dâ-thâma, " deponamus" (Vend. S. p. 208, 6«૫ રિણાયુ દાદવાવારાયુરે જાતરિક માર્યાદ્યાત્રાત પ્રાથમિક દ્વારાય ક્યાર્ટિત 6«૫ א נצעעטעגאן kva naranm iristananm tanûm barama Ahura mazda kva nidâthâma, "Quo hominum mortuorum corpus feramus, ubi deponamus"?). Of the Germanic we will further remark, that the root an ma, "to measure" (cf. $\mu \acute{\epsilon}$ - $\tau \rho o \nu$), has connected itself with a t sound, and forms, in Gothic, MAT, present mita. (§. 109°. 1.) and, "to be acquainted with," "to know," ΓΝΩ, GNA (gnarus), Old High German CHNA (§. 87.); whence chná-ta, "I knew," annexing the auxiliary verb direct, as in Latin (g)no-vi. To

^{*} I believe I may deduce this form from the 3d pers. pl. some services histenti (cf. iotavti) in the V. S. p. 183; more on this head under the verb.

the special form जानानि janami, for ज्ञानानि jna na-mi, may belong the Gothic root KANN, Old High German CHANN, (kann, chan, "I know," see §. 94, kunnum, chunnum, "we know," see §. 66.) = dhma, "to blow," alters itself in the special forms to up dham, Latin FLA, according to the second class (§. 117. 2.), Old High German $PL\bar{A}$ (§§. 12. 20.), whence pla-ta, flavi. As in Sanscrit, from the above-mentioned भन् dham, comes the nominal base भन्नी dhamanî, "a vein"; so may the Gothic base BLOTHA (nom. acc. blôth, blood") come here also under consideration. pass on to roots in i, and have to remark that the root mentioned at p. 107, \(\xi\) i, "to go," is not unknown in German. We find it in the Gothic imperative hir-i, "come here"; du. hir-jats; pl. hir-jith. I believe, too, that in the irregular preterite iddja, "I went," the i alone can be assumed as the root. In Zend occurs אמצאָנ aêi-ti, "he goes" (from the di, according to §§. 28. 41.), Lithuan. ei-ti. śri, "to go," with the prep. 37 ut, "to raise itself"; hence उच्चित uchchhrita, "raised," "high"; compare cre-sco, cre-vi (see §. 21.), Old High German, with the addition of a tas in the case of mat, from πma —so SCRIT, "to step": perhaps the Latin gradior, as well as cresco, might be here included, the Guna form of the vowel, as in अयति śray-a-ti, "he goes," being observed. ft smi, "to laugh," Old High German SMIL; \mathfrak{M}^9 prî, "to love," Zend \mathfrak{S} frî (§. 47.), Goth. frijô, "I love" (§. 87.), compare ਸਿਧ priya, "dear." ਮੀ³ bhí, "to fear," faifa bibhê-mi, "I feared"; Lithuan. bijau; Gothic fija, "I hate" (fijais, fijaith), fijands, "foe"; Old High German viêm or fiêm, "I hate": the Greek $\phi \in \beta$ -o- $\mu \alpha \iota$ answers to the Sanscrit reduplication of bibhémi; so that, contrary to the common rule, the aspirates have remained in the prefix, but in the base itself have become medials, and this has left only β as the whole root, as in Sanscrit da-d-mas, "we give," for $da-d\hat{a}$ -mas, δi - $\delta o-\mu \epsilon \varsigma$. Perhaps, also, $\Phi I \Delta$, $\phi \dot{\epsilon} i \delta o \mu \alpha i$, is to be referred to the roots in i, so that an unorganic dental

affix would be to be assumed. $\mathfrak{A}^2 si$, "to lie," "to sleep," with irregular Guna in the middle; hence $\hat{se}-t\hat{e} = \kappa \hat{ei}-\tau \alpha i$. Ri hri, "to be ashamed"; Old High German HRU, "to repent" (hriw-u, hrou, hru-umês, see p. 115). Of roots in u, हु dru, "to run," द्वति drav-a-ti, "he runs," may furnish, through the Guna form, the Greek δρά-σκω, δι-δρά-σκω, which appears to have its α with suppression of the digamma: the μ of $\delta \rho \epsilon \mu \omega$, however, might pass as a hardening of the $\mathbf{q} \mathbf{v}$ (§. 63.), and $\delta \rho \epsilon \mu$ -o- $\mu \epsilon \nu$, $\delta \rho \epsilon \mu$ - ϵ - $\tau \epsilon$, &c., therefore represent most truly the forms drav-a-mas, drava-tha. छ्रो plu, "to go," "to swim," "to flow" (एउप plava, "a ship"), Latin FLU. The Greek $\pi\lambda\epsilon\omega$, $\pi\lambda\delta\omega$ is again not to be so regarded as if the old u had been corrupted to ϵ or o, but $\pi\lambda\dot{\epsilon}(F)\omega$, $\pi\lambda o(F)\omega$ supply the place of the Guna form in plav-é (of the middle voice), 3d pers. plava-te: the future $\pi\lambda\epsilon\nu\sigma\omega$, the ν having the Guna (§. 26.), answers to प्लोचे plo-shye; Lithuan. plaukiu, "I swim," with a guttural added, as in Latin fluc-si from fluv (p. 98.) Old High German VLUZ, "to flow," pre-supposes the Gothic FLUT (§. 87); with the favourite dental addition, with which all final vowels are so commonly invested. \mathbf{g}^{5} sru, "to hear," KAY (§§. 20, 21.), Goth. HLIU-MAN(nominative hliuma), "ear," as "hearer," with weakened Guna (§. 27.). With regard to the kl for śr, compare, also, clunis with श्रोगी śrôni, f. "hip," Lithuan. klausau, "I hear." Perhaps erudio, as "to make hear," is to be referred to this class: the derivation from e and rudis is little satisfactory. Anquetil introduces a Zend erodé, célebre, (κλυτός), which I have not yet found in the original text, but I meet with the causal form swayemi sravayemi (Sansc. जावयानि śrâvayāmi), " I speak," "recite" (V. S. p. 38). The Old High German serirumés, "we have exclaimed," gives SCRIR as the root, and rests probably on the form śráv (§. 20.), with a thinning of the à to i (§. 66.); the present and sing. preterite, however, have lost the r (scriu for scriru,

screi for screir), like the Greek κλή-σω, κέκλη-κα, &c. The Latin clamo, however, has the same relation to wing śráv that mare has to and vari, "water" (§. 63.), and $\delta \rho \epsilon \mu$ to द्रव् drav, from दु dru, "to run.") by hu⁵, "to extol," "to glorify" (μροχιών hunûta, "he celebrated," V. S. p. 39.), is probably the root of the Greek $\tilde{\nu}\mu\nu\sigma\varsigma$ ($\tilde{\nu}\mu(\varepsilon)\nu\sigma\varsigma$), which I do not like to regard as an irregular derivative from υδω. y pû 1.9. "to purify," PUrus. This root is the verbal parent of the wind and fire, which are both represented as pure. पवन pavana (with Guna and ana as suffix) is "the wind," and the corresponding Gothic $F\overline{O}NA$ (neut. nom. acc. fôn, see §. 116.) is "fire," which in Sanscrit is called **ures** pav-a-ka, with Vriddhi and aka as suffix. The relation of $F\bar{O}NA$ to use pavana resembles that of the Latin mâlo from mavolo; the loss of the syllable wa is replaced by lengthening the a (§. 69.). The Greek πυρ and Old High German VIURA (nom. acc. viur), the latter with weakened Guna (§. 27.), and ra as suffix, both fall to the root $\mathbf{y} p\hat{u}$. $\mathbf{z}^2 br\hat{u}$, "to speak," Zend $\mathfrak{I} \in mr\hat{u}$ (e. g. ६५ м/с mrad-m, "I spoke," V. S. p. 123.); the Greek $\dot{\rho}\dot{\epsilon}(F)\omega$ rests on the Guna form संवीम brav-î-mi, and has, as often happens, lost the former of two initial consonants (cf. also ρέω, ρεύω, and ruo, with z sru, "to flow"). Old High German SPRAH, or SPRAHH (sprihhu, "I speak," sprah, "I spoke") appears to have proceeded from ब्रम् brav, by hardening the \sqrt{v} (see §. 19.), and prefixing an s akin to the p. $y_0 bh\hat{u}$, "to be," Zend $b\hat{u}$, Lithuan. BU(future bú-su, "I will be"), Latin FU, Greek ΦΥ. Probably, also, BY, in $\pi \rho \epsilon \sigma - \beta \upsilon - \varsigma$, $\pi \rho \epsilon \sigma \beta \dot{\upsilon} \tau \eta \varsigma$, &c., is only another form of this root (cf. §. 18.); so that $\pi \rho \acute{e}_{\varsigma}$ would have to be regarded as a preposition from $\pi \rho \delta$ (πpra), essentially distinguished only by a euphonic Σ (cf. §. 96.). Moreover, the stem $\pi \rho \acute{\epsilon} \sigma \beta \upsilon$ has a striking resemblance to my prabhu (excelsus, augustus), literally, "being before." In Old High German, pim or bim corresponds to the

Sanscrit भवामि bhavami: more exact, however, is the correspondence in the plural of pir-u-mes, pir-u-t, to bhav-a-mas, "sumus," bhav-a-tha, "estis" (see §. 19.). Here belongs, also, $P\bar{U}$, "to dwell" ($p\hat{u}$ -ta, "I dwelt"), as the Sanscrit q, vas, "to dwell," in German VAS, WAS, has become seyn. In Sanscrit, too, from y bhú, "to be," comes the substantive bhav-ana, "house," as place of being. The Gothic baua, "I build," may be regarded as the causal of the idea "to be," like the Latin facio (§. 19.): its conjugation answers also to भावयामि bhâvayâmi, "I make to be," which, in Prâkrit, may sound bhâvêmi, bhâvêsi, bhâvêti (Gothic baua, bauais, bauait). See p. 121. Sanscrit roots ending in diphthongs (vé, wì ô, è âi; there are no roots in wî âu) follow in their formations, in many respects, the analogy of roots in with abstain from adducing examples of them, as they also offer little occasion for comparison.

(2.) Roots terminating with a consonant. We shall give only a few examples, in which we compare roots with the same vowel, and proceed in the order, a, i, u. According to §.1. we do not allow the vowel $\mathbf{r}i$ and $\mathbf{r}i$ to belong to the root. Long radical vowels before a final consonant are rare; and the majority of them are probably not original.

The most numerous class of roots ending with a consonant has a medial \(\mathbf{a}\) a. So \(\mathbf{q}\) vach, Zend puly vach (upco \(\mathbf{u}\) abcta, "dixit," Vend. S. p. 124), Greek EII for FEII \(\hat{\s.}\) . 14.), Latin VOC, Old High German, WAH, WAG (kiwahu "mentionem" "facio," pret. ki-wuoh, pl. ki-wuogumés). \(\mathbf{q}\) prachh, Zend up \(\mathbf{e}\) pĕrěs, Gothic FRAH; pres. \(\mathbf{q}\) prichchhâmi, squus \(\mathbf{e}\) pěrěsâmi, fraiha for friha (see \(\hat{\s.}\) . 82. and \(\hat{\s.}\) 109\(\hat{\s.}\) 1.); the Latin ROG (rogo, interrogo) appears to be abbreviated from FROG. \(\mathbf{q}\) \(\mathbf{e}\) pat, "to fly," Zend \(\mathbf{e}\) pat, "to fly" (Vend. S. p. 257. \(\mathbf{e}\) sub \(\mathbf{e}\) us \(\mathbf{e}\) pusus yat frâ vayê patain urvara ucsyain, "where birds fly, trees grow"). One sees clearly from this

that, in Greek, πίπτω, πετάω, πετάομαι, πέτομαι, πτημι, &c. belong to a common root HET; Latin PET, peto, im-pelo, præpetes, penna by assimilation for pet-na. In Gothic FATH, or, with the vowel weakened, FITH, might be looked for. To the latter corresponds, according to §. 87., Old High German VËD, in vëd-ara, "feather." vad, "to speak," Latin VAD, contained in vas, vad-is. From बह vad proceeds the abbreviated form उद् ud, to which pertains ΎΔ (ΰδω, ὑδέω, ὕδης). The Old High German gives WAZ (var-wazu "maledico"), with z for d, according to §. 87, and the vowel of the base lengthened, as in वादयामि vâdayâmi, according to the tenth class. सद् sad, " to sink," with the prep. नि ni, "to set oneself down;" Latin SED, SID, sido, sedeo; Greek ΈΔ, ΊΖ, έδος, έδρα, ίζομαι; Gothic SAT (§. 87.), sita, "I sit" (p. 116.). blow," "to breathe," अनिल anila, "wind," Gothic AN, usana, "I expire," cf. ἄνεμος, "animus." जन् jan, "to beget," Zend און zan (§. 58.), אראשנאנן zazāmi, "I beget," Sanscrit जनिम jajanmi, Greek ΓΕΝ, Latin GEN (γίγνομαι, γένος, gigno, genus), Gothic KIN, "to germinate," (p. 116); kuni, "gender." (§. 66.) कर्⁸ kar (कृ kri), e.g. करोति karôti, "facit": this root, in Zend, follows the fifth class; e.g. sosyzeze kěerěnôiti (§. 41.), "facit," κουνιρίες kěrěnaci, "fecit," عربي kěrěnûidhi, "fac"; Old High German karawan or garawan, "to prepare"; Latin creo, cura (cf. 35 kuru, "fac"), ceremonia, and with p for c (§. 14.), paro; Greek κραίνω, κρά-τος; with π, πράσσω, πρακ-σω, πράγ-μα, where the guttural appears to be a hardening of the ∇v (§. 19.), e.g. from कुर्वनित kurvanti, "faciunt" (from kur-u-anti). عو عمل " to drive," " to carry," Zend علي vaz (§. 57.), Latin VEH, Greek öxos, "waggon," as bearer, carrier, for Fóxos. भस² śvas, "to breathe," cf. spiro, according to यह 9. 10. grah, "to take": the original §§. 50. and 22. form, occurring in the Vedas, is my grabh. To this the Zend form belongs, according to the tenth class, and, indeed, so that the w bh appears before vowels as » v, but before φ t as ϑ p. Thus we read in the Vend. S. p. 155: မေးက ကောက္ခေတ္တေလ ကောက္ခေတ်သည္။ မေးကို မေးကို ကေလးကို ကေလးကို ကေလးကို မေးကို မေးက κυσείναι που γερους επαρεί «κιτιακου εκ να κασι ηκου ; yêzi nôit uzvarězyát yô narem ágěrěptem ágeurvayêitê, ká hê asti chitha? "Pure! si non dimittit, qui hominem captum capit (i.e. tenet), quænam ei est pæna"?* In the European sister languages I believe I recognise this root in three forms: the Gothic GRIP has been already mentioned (p. 106), likewise prehendo (§. 92. note): by changing the medials into their smooth letters, KAEII also seems to belong here, Gothic HLIF, "to steal," hliftus, "thief." Finally, also, in Greek, γρίπος, γρίφος, "the net," stands quite isolated, and appears to me to be related to the Indian and grabh, by changing the a into i. WHE? ds, "to sit," Greek 'H Σ , a remnant of the second class, terminating in a consonant to be supplied at §. 109°. 3.; ησ-ται answers exactly to with ås-tê (middle vioce), and hence ημαι stands for ησμαι, as εἰμί for ἐσμί (Sanscrit asmi). Μη bhrāj, "to shine," Zend رج běrěz (§. 58.) or الملاجي barěz, whence the part. pres. ρμικείει běrězant, nom. m. υκκείει běrězans, "splendens," "altus," very frequently occurs. This Zend form prepares the way for the Old High German root PERAH, whence PERAH-TA[†], nom. perah-t, "fulgidus." belongs, also, our Pracht. The Greek language gives ΦΛΕΓ (§. 20.) a kindred root, and thus points to a Sanscrit short a for the long one. The kindred root in Latin is FLAG, flagro. fag chhid, "to cleave," SCID, scind-i-mus =chhindmas (§. 14.): ΣΧΙΖ, perhaps also ΣΚΙΔ, σκίδνημι, &c. belong to this place; the form is more genuine, and the

^{*} Anquetil translates, "Si celui qui a commis l'Aguerefté ne reconnoit pas sa faute quelle sera sa punition."

[†] The h (in the sense of ch) corresponding to the gh, γ , answers to §. 87, but is moreover favoured by the following t.

ideas, too, of clearing, dispersing, separating, are kindred ones. The Gothic SKAID, "to separate," if the relationship is certain, has a stiffened Guna, so that ai appears to belong to the root. According to §. 87, however, the Gothic form should be SKAIT, and the Old High German SKEIZ for SKEID. विद्² vid, "to know," Zend γίd, 'IΔ; Gothic VID, Old High German, VIZ; in the Latin VID, and in είδω, "I see," the seeing is regarded as something, which "makes to know," and the conj. of video is causal, according to p. 110. Thus, also, another root, signifying "to know," namely you budh, has, in Zend, gained the meaning "to see." * According to the tenth class, and with the prep. ni, VID, in Zend, signifies "to summon" (געמטענעטאא nivaêdhayêmi, "invoco," see §. 28.) In Gothic, VIT receives through the prep. in the meaning "to adore" (inveita, invait, invitum). हिम् 6 dis, "to shew," Zend was dis 10; hence by summer fradals ayo, "thou shewest" (Vend. S. p. 123), Greek ΔΙΚ, with Guna δείκνυμι, according to the fifth class; Latin DIC, in dico, as it were, "to point out," and dicis (dicis causa). In Gothic, the rule laid down in §. 87. requires the form TIH, and this root, combined with ga, signifies "to announce" (ga-teiha, gataih, ga-taihum, for ga-tihum, according to §. 82.). On the other hand, in taikus, "sign," the law for the transposition of letters is violated. जीव् jiv, "life;" Lithuanian gywa-s, "alive," gywenú, "I live," gywata, "life"; Gothic QUIVA, nom. quivs, "alive"; Latin VIV, as it appears from QUIV, as bis from duis (Sansc. fan dvis), viginti from tviginti. The Zend has dropped either the vowel or the v of this root. Hence, e.g. μ»μ jva, nom. ψ»μ jvô, "living," (V. S. p. 189); and אָטענעל hu-jîtayō, "bonam vitam habentes" (l. c. p. 222), from שנשגסג hu-jîti. From jî, the root, would become, with Guna, jayāmi, on which rests the Greek ζάω, the j having

^{*} Vide Gram. Crit. p. 328.

fallen out (§. 14.); but β ios also belongs to this root, and finds a medium of comparison with जीव jiv, in the Latin vivo. Of roots with u, हर् ruch, "to shine," and हर rud, "to weep," may serve as examples; the former, in Zend, is μψω? raôch, (§§. 28. 32.), and follows the tenth class, e.g. אליטאנגענענאנא איינעראנא איינעראנען איינעראנען איינעראר איינעראנע raochayêiti, "splendet." In Latin correspond LUC, luc-s, luceo (§. 20.), and RUD: the Greek has, in both roots, replaced the r by l, and presents, for comparison, $\Lambda \Upsilon K$ ($\mathring{a}\mu\phi\iota$ λύκη, λυκόφως) and ΛΥΖ; to the former, λύχνος, λυχνέυω, &c., has the same relation that, in Zend, שעלין נשה tafnu-s, "burning," has to the root due tap (§. 40.). We must assign λευκός also, with Guna, to the root ΛΥΚ. The Gothic gives LUH for LUK, according to §. 87.; whence, with the original, or with weakened Guna (§§. 26, 27.), spring forms like lauhmôni, "lightning," lauhatjan, "to lighten," liuhath, Without Guna, and preserving the old smooth letter, stands lukarn (theme, lukarna, neut.), "lamp," rather A root corresponding to to the rud is wanting in Gothic, but the Old High German has for it, quite regularly according to §. 87., RUZ, "to weep" (riuzu, rôz for rauz, according to §. 80., ruzumės). Ag¹ bhûsh, "to adorn," is perhaps contained in the Latin or-na, with loss of the initial letter, as amo in relation to कानपानि kâmayâmi, " I love." With regard to the r for $\forall sh$, advert to the relation of uro to उप ush, "to burn." सेव् sev, "to honour," नेष् medh, "to think" (?). The latter cannot hitherto be quoted as a verb: it springs, however, from hat medhas and नेशा mêdhā, "understanding," unless it should be preferred to assume for these words a root midh, which, however, the Grammarians do not exhibit. The Gothic has, for comparison, MIT, whence mitô, "I think": the Greek furnishes an analogous word to s ev, viz. ΣEB , $\sigma \epsilon \beta \omega$. (§. 4.)

110. From the monosyllabic roots proceed nouns, substantive and adjective, by the annexation of syllables, which we should not, without examination, regard as not,

per se, significative and, as it were, supernatural mystic beings; to a passive belief in whose undiscoverable nature we are not willing to surrender ourselves. It is more natural to suppose that they have or had meaning, and that the organism of language connects that which has a meaning with what is likewise significative. Why should not language denote accessory ideas, by accessory words appended to the root? Language, which possesses both sense and body, infuses sense and imparts form to every word. The object of nouns is to represent persons or things, to which that which the abstract root expresses adheres; and hence it is most natural to look for pronouns in the elements used in the formation of words, as the bearers of qualities, actions, and conditions, which the root expresses in abstracto. There appears, too, in reality, as we shall develope in the chapter on the pronouns, a complete * identity between the most important elements in the formation of words and some pronominal bases which are declined even in an isolated state. But it is not surprising that several of the elements of verbal formation, in the class of independent words, should not admit of more certain explanation; for these affixes have their origin in the most obscure and early epoch of language, and subsequently they have themselves lost all consciousness as to whence they have been taken, on which account the appended suffix does not always keep equal pace with the alterations which, in the course of time, occur in the corresponding isolated word; or it has been altered while the other remains unchanged. Still, in individual cases, we may remark the admirable exactitude with which the appended grammatical syllables have maintained themselves through thousands of years in an unaltered form;

^{*} I direct attention preliminarily to my treatise "On the Influence of Pronouns in the Formation of Words" (Berlin, by F. Dümmler).

I say, we may remark this from the perfect accordance which exists between various individuals of the Sanscrit family of languages, although these languages have been removed, as it were, from each other's eyes since time immemorial, and every sister dialect has, since that removal, been left to its own fate and experience.

111. There are also pure radical words, i.e. those of which the theme, without suffix of derivation or personality, represents the naked root, which are then united in declension with the syllables which denote the relations of case. Except at the end of compounds, such radical words are, in Sanscrit, few in number, and are all feminine abstracts; as, भी bhi, "fear," युष् yudh, "contest," नुद् mud, "joy." Greek and Latin the pure root is the most rare form of the word; but it does not always appear as an abstract substantive. As, for instance, e.g. $\phi \lambda \delta \gamma$ ($\phi \lambda \delta \kappa - \varsigma$), $\delta \pi$ ($\delta \pi - \varsigma$), νιφ (νίπ-ς), leg (lec-s), pac (pac-s), duc (duc-s), pel-lic (pel-lec-s). In German, commencing even with the Gothic, no pure radical words exist, although, by reason of the abbreviation of the base of the word in the singular, many words have assumed that appearance; for from the abbreviation of these verbal bases, which has been constantly extending during the lapse of time, it is precisely the most modern dialects which appear to exhibit the greatest number of naked roots as nouns. (cf. §. 116.) Naked roots seem most generally used at the end of compounds, on account of the clogging of the preceding part of the word. According to this principle, in Sanscrit, every root can, in this position, designate the agent by itself; as, e.g. white dharma-vid, "duty-knowing." In Latin, the use of these compounds is as frequent as in Sanscrit, only that, according to §. 6., a radical a is weakened to i or e; thus, carni-fic (fec-s), tubi-cin (cen). An example in Greek is χερνιβ (for -νιπ, from νιπ-τω). Sanscrit roots which end with short vowels, as fin ji, "to conquer," are, in compounds of this kind, supported by the addition of a t, which so much the more appears to be a simple phonetic affix without signification, that these weakly-constructed roots appear to support themselves on an auxiliary t before the gerundial suffix ya also. Thus, e.g. which svarga-jil, "conquering the heaven," faint vi-jit-ya, "by conquering." In Latin I find interesting analogies to these formations in IT and STIT, from the roots I and STA, the latter weakened to STI according to §. 6. Thus, com-it (com-es), "goer with"; equ-it (equ-es), "goer on horseback"; al-it (al-es), "goer with wings"; super-stit (-stes), "standing there." The German has in this way supported throughout with a t several roots terminating with a vowel, and hence given to this letter the character of radicalism, as above mentioned (p. 123) in MAT, from In Mâ, "to measure."

FORMATION OF CASES.

112. THE Indian Grammarians take up the declinable word in its primary form, i.e. in its state when destitute of all case-termination; and this bare form of the word is given also in dictionaries. In this we follow their example; and where we give Sanscrit and Zend nouns, they stand, unless it is otherwise specified, or the sign of case is separated from the base, in their primary form. The Indian Grammarians, however, did not arrive at their primary forms by the method of independent analysis, as it were by an anatomical dissection or chemical decomposition of the body of language; but were guided by the practical use of the language itself, which, at the beginning of compounds—and the art of composition is, in Sanscrit, just as necessary as that of conjugation or declension requires the pure primary form; naturally with reservation of the slight changes of the adjoining limits of sound, rendered necessary at times by the laws of euphony. the primary form at the beginning of compounds can represent every relation of case, it is, as it were, the case general, or the most general of cases, which, in the unlimited use of compounds, occurs more frequently than any Nevertheless, the Sanscrit language does not everywhere remain true to the strict and logical principle usually followed in composition; and as if to vex the Grammarians, and put their logic to the test, it places as the first member of the compounds in the pronouns of the first and second person the ablative plural, and in those of the third person the nom. and acc. sing. of the neuter, instead of the true primary form. The Indian Grammarians, then, in

this point, have applied to the cases furnished to them by the language, and take the augmented अस्मत् asmat or चस्मद् asmad, "from us," युष्मत् yushmat or युष्मद् yushmad, "from you," as the starting-point in the declension, or as the primary form, although in both pronominal forms only w a and y yu belong to the base, which, however, does not extend to the singular. That, however, in spite of this error, the Indian Grammarians understand how to decline the pronouns, and that they are not deficient in external rules for this purpose, is a matter of course. That the • interrogative, in its declension, resembles bases in a, cannot escape any one who holds the neuter किए kim for the original indeclinable form of the word. Pânini settles the matter here with a very laconic rule, when he says (edit. Calc. p. 969) fan: a: kimah kah, i.e. ka * is substituted for If this strange method were to be followed in Latin, and the neuter quid in like manner regarded as the theme, then, in order to get at the dative cu-i (after the analogy of fructui), one would have to say, "quidis cus," or "quidi-cus." In another place (p. 825), Pânini forms from idam, "this" (which in like manner has the honour of passing for a base) and kim, "what?" a copulative compound; and by इदिश्योर ईशकी idankimôr îśkî, the Grammarian teaches that the putative bases in the formations under discussion substitute for themselves the forms ? and kî.

113. The Sanscrit, and the languages akin to it, which in this respect have still kept upon the old footing, distinguish, besides the two natural genders, another—the neuter, which the Indian Grammarians call Klîva, i.e. eunuch; which appears to be a peculiarity of the San-

^{*} He forms, namely, from kim, regarded as a base, kim-as, which in reality does not occur, and which has, for the sake of euphony, here become kimah.

scrit, or most perfect family of languages. According to its original intention, this gender had to represent inanimate nature, but it has not everywhere confined itself to these old limits: the language imparts life to what is inanimate, and, on the other hand, (according to the view then taken,) impairs the personality of what is by nature The feminine in Sanscrit, both in the base and in the case-terminations, loves a luxurious fullness of form; and where it is distinguished from the other genders in the base or in the termination, it marks this The . distinction by broader, and more sonant vowels. neuter, on the other hand, prefers the greatest conciseness, but distinguishes itself from the masculine, not in the base, but only, in the most conspicuous cases, in the nominative and its perfect counterpart the accusative; in the vocative, also, when this is the same as the nominative.

114. Number, in Sanscrit and its sister languages, is distinguished, not by a particular affix denoting the number, but by the selection or modification of the case-syllable, so that, with the case-suffix, the number is at once known; e.g. bhyam, bhyam, and bhyas are kindred syllables, and, among other relations, express that of the dative; the first in the singular (only in the pronoun of the 2d person), the second in the dual, the third in the plural. The dual, like the neuter, in course of time is the first to be lost with the weakening of the vitality of the view taken by the senses, or is more and more straitened in its use, and then replaced by the abstract plural expressive of infinite num-The Sanscrit possesses the dual most fully, both in ber. the noun and in the verb, and employs it everywhere where its use could be expected. In the Zend, which otherwise approximates so closely to the Sanscrit, it is found very rarely in the verb, more frequently in the noun. The Pali has only as much left of it as the Latin, viz. a remnant of it in two words, which signify "two"

and "both"; in the Prâkrit it is entirely wanting. Of the German languages, only the eldest dialect, the Gothic, possesses it, but merely in the verb; while, on the contrary, in the Hebrew (speaking here of the Semitic languages) it is retained only in the noun, in disadvantageous contrast with the Arabic, which, in many other respects also, is a more perfect language, and which maintains the dual in equal fulness in the verb also; while in the Syriac it has been almost entirely lost in the noun as well as in the verb.*

115. The case-terminations express the reciprocal relations of nouns, which principally and originally referred only to space, but from space were extended also to time and cause, the relations of the persons spoken of, to one another. According to their origin, they are, at least for the most part, pronouns, as will be more clearly developed hereafter. Whence could the exponents of the relations of space, which have grown up with the primary words into a whole, have better been taken, than from those words which express personality, with their inherent secondary idea of room, of that which is nearer or more distant, of that which is on this or that side? verbs the personal terminations, i.e. the pronominal suffixes—although, in the course of time, they are no longer recognised and felt to be that which, by their demonstrable origin, they imply and are—are replaced, or, if we may use the expression, commented on by the isolated pronouns prefixed to the verb; so, in the more sunken, insensible state of the language, the spiritually dead case-terminations

^{*} Regarding the character, the natural foundation, and the finer gradations in the use of the dual, and its diffusion into the different provinces of language, we possess a talented inquiry, by W. von Humboldt, in the Transactions of the Academy for the year 1827; and some which have been published by Dümmler.

are, in their signification of space, replaced, supported, or explained by prepositions, and in their personal signification by the article.

116. Before we describe the formation of cases in the order in which the Sanscrit Grammarians dispose them, it appears desirable to give the different final sounds of the nominal bases with which the case-suffixes unite themselves, as well as to point out the mode in which the kindred languages are in this respect related to one The three primary vowels (a, i, u) occur in another. Sanscrit, both short and long, at the end of nominal bases; thus, a, a, a, a, a, a, a. To the short a, always masculine or neuter, never feminine, a, corresponds in Zend and Lithuanian, also in German, where, however, even in the Gothic (in Grimm's first strong declension), especially in substantives, it is only sparingly retained: in more modern dialects it is commonly supplanted by a more recent u or e. In Greek, the corresponding termination is the o of the second declension (e.g. in $\lambda \delta \gamma o - \varsigma$): and o was also the termination of the Latin noun in ancient times; but in the classic period, although sometimes retained, it was commonly changed to u in the nom. and accus. sing. (of the second declension. An old a, however, is still left in cola, gena, cida, at the end of compounds; where, however, from the want of other analogies, it is used in declension similarly to the feminine originally long a, on which account the nominative is written, not colas, genas, cidas, but cola, &c. The Grecian masculines of the first declension in $\bar{\alpha}$ -5, with the η -5 which has proceeded therefrom, must likewise, according to their origin, be compared with the Sanscrit masculine short a, to which, in regard of quality and preservation of the nominative sign, they have remained faithful, while the o of the second declension has preserved its old original brevity. Their identity with bases in o is excellently shewn by the genitive in ou, which

does not at all suit a theme in α or η ; and further, from such compounds as $\mu\nu\rho\sigma\pi\omega\lambda\eta$ - ς , $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\sigma\tau\rhoi\beta\eta$ - ς , in which the vowel that has been added to the roots $\Pi\Omega\Lambda$ and TPIB supplies the place of the Sanscrit a in similar compounds for which, in Greek, o usually stands.

117. To the short *i*, which occurs in the three genders, the same vowel corresponds in the kindred languages. In German it is to be looked for in Grimm's fourth strong declension, which I shall make the second; where, however, from the destructive alterations of time, it becomes nearly as hard as the *a* of the first declension. In Latin, *i* is interchanged with *e*; hence facile for facili, mare for mari, Sanscrit and vari, "water." In Greek, before vowels the *i* is generally weakened to the unorganic *e*. The short *u* also shews itself in Sanscrit in the three genders, as in Greek *v*, and *u* in Gothic, where it distinguishes itself from the *a* and *i* in that it has maintained itself as well before the *s* of the nominative as in the uninflected accusative. In Latin the corresponding letter is the *u* of the fourth declension.

118. The long vowels (a, i, i) belong, in Sanscrit, principally to the feminine (see §. 113.), are never found in the neuter, and occur in the masculine very rarely. the long final a has generally been shortened in polysyllabic words: as it has in Gothic, in which bases in δ correspond (§. 69.) to the Sanscrit feminine bases in d, and the d in the uninflected nom. and accus. sing. is shortened to a, with the exception of the monosyllabic forms sô, "she," "this," Sanscrit सा sā, Zend hā; lmô, "which?" Sanscrit and Zend The Latin, also, in the uninflected nom. and voc., has kâ. shortened the old feminine long a; but the Lithuanian has, in the nom., maintained the original at length. In Greek, the Doric $\bar{\alpha}$ approaches most nearly to the Sanscrit feminine जा å, which the common dialect has sometimes preserved, sometimes shortened, sometimes transformed into η .

119. The long i appears, in Sanscrit, most frequently

as a characteristic addition in the formation of feminine bases; thus, the feminine base महती mahati (magna) springs from महत mahat. The same holds good in Zend. Moreover, the feminine character i has been preserved most strictly in Lithuanian, where, for example, in the part. pres. and fut. an i is added to the old participial suffix ant, and esant-i, "the existing," bú-sent-i, "that that shall be," correspond to the Sanscrit सती sat-i (for asati or asanti), भविष्यकी bhav-i-shyanti. In Greek and Latin this feminine long i has become incapable of declension; and where it has still left traces, there a later unorganic affix has become the bearer of the case terminations. This affix is, in Greek, either α or δ ; in Latin, c. Thus, ήδεία corresponds to the Sanscrit साझी svådv-î, from खादु svådu, "sweet"; -τρια, -τριδ, e.g. ὀρχήστρια, ληστρίς, ληστρίδ-ος, to the Sanscrit ची tri, e.g. जिन्दी janitri, "genitress," to which the Latin genitri-c-s, genitri-c-is, corresponds; while in the Greek γενέτειρα, and similar formations, the old feminine i is forced back a syllable. analogy is followed by μέλαινα, τάλαινα, τέρεινα, and substantive derivations, as τέκταινα, Λάκαινα. In θεράπαινα, λέαινα, the base of the primitive is, as in the nom. masc., shortened by a τ . In $\theta \acute{\epsilon} \alpha i \nu \alpha$, $\lambda \acute{\nu} \kappa \alpha i \nu \alpha$, it is to be assumed that the proper primitive in v or v7 has been lost, or that these are formations of a different kind, and correspond to the rather isolated word in Sanscrit इन्हानी Indrani, as the wife of Indra, as derived from Transis termed. cases where the feminine i is solely represented by a are essentially limited to feminine derivatives from forms in $\nu\tau$, where τ passes into σ : the preceding ν , however, is replaced by v or i, or the mere lengthening of the preceding vowel, or it is assimilated to the σ :

hence, out-a, $\epsilon \iota \sigma$ -a, $\epsilon \sigma \sigma$ -a, $\bar{\alpha} \sigma$ -a*, $\bar{\nu} \sigma$ -a for ovt-a, $\epsilon \nu \tau$ -a, $\epsilon \nu \tau$ -a, $\alpha \nu \tau$ -a, $\nu \tau$ -a.

^{*} In Doric subsequent and original a10-a.

To this analogy belong, moreover, the feminine substantives, like θάλασσα, βασίλισσα, μέλισσα, which J. Grimm (II. 328.) very correctly, in my opinion, compares with forms like χαρί-εσσα, μελιτό-εσσα, and explains the double σ by germination or assimilation. These feminine formations by a simple α instead of the original ι are the most corrupt, and, relatively, the most recent; and herein the Greek is not supported by any of the kindred languages. The Latin, its twin-sister, which otherwise runs parallel to it, leaves, in the part pres. and other adjective bases terminating with a consonant, the feminine undistinguished from the masculine through all the cases, since it has no longer the power of declining the old $\bar{\imath}$.

121. The long $u(\hat{u})$ appears, in Sanscrit, rather seldom at the end of primary forms, and is for the most part feminine. The words most in use are $vadh\hat{u}$, "a wife," $bh\hat{u}$, "earth," $vadh\hat{u}$, "mother-in-law" (socrus), $vadh\hat{u}$, "eyebrow." To the latter corresponds $detah(\hat{u})$, likewise with the long u, the declension of which, however, is not different from that of the short u; while in Sanscrit the long u is distinguished from the short feminine u in the same way as $vadh(\hat{u})$ from $valh(\hat{u})$. But few monosyllabic primary forms end, in Sanscrit, with diphthongs, not any at all with $valh(\hat{u})$ with $valh(\hat{u})$ (from $valh(\hat{u})$ + $valh(\hat{u})$ only $valh(\hat{u})$ masc. "thing," "riches"; in

the nom. irregularly un ra-s for the rai-s. In this is recognised the Latin re-s. Still I do not believe that Latin bases in \bar{e} should therefore be looked upon as corresponding to the Sanscrit & di; for, in the first place, the Latin ē corresponds elsewhere to the Sanscrit $\forall \ell$ (from $\check{a} + i$), never to di; secondly, the connection of the \bar{e} of the fifth declension with the originally long a of the first is not to be mistaken (to which it bears the same relation that the Ionic η does to the Doric \bar{a}), for many words with the same meaning belong to the A and E declension; and, for example, a suffix which is employed for the formation of abstracts from adjectives is sounded as well tie as tia (planitie-s, planitia, canitie-s, canitia); and ie-s, and ia, in the formation of primitive and derivative words—like effigie-s, effigia, pauperie-s, pauperia—are clearly one and the same suffix, identical with the Sanscrit un ya, which is used for the same purpose, and the Greek ia, Ionic in. Let us now consider the objections which are opposed to the original identity of the feminine \bar{e} and a. The most weighty is the s in the nom. sing. and pl.: \bar{e} -s, \bar{e} -s for \bar{e} , ei, as musa, musæ (musai), κεφαλή, κεφαλαί. As regards the s in the singular, it is, if the identity with the first declension be authentic, very remarkable; and forms like species, cavities, seem to be true lingual patriarchs: for the Sanscrit, like the Zend, Greek, Gothic, Lithuanian, exhibits the absence of the nominative sign in the corresponding feminine bases in a. I have, however, never considered as original the abandonment of the nominative sign, and the complete equalization with the primary form in सुता suta, "daughter," and similar words, although it has appeared to me as losing itself very deeply in far-distant ages. The Latin, however, in some other points of Grammar, shews greater antiquity than the Sanscrit and Greek, as, for example (to confine the present instance to the nominative case), participial nominatives, like amans, legens, are better and

older forms than the Sanscrit and Greek, like तुद्न tudan, λέγων, τιθείς, because they have preserved the nominative s together with the nasal, and therein stand on the same footing with Zend forms, like مره bavans, . "being." I cannot, therefore, find, in the retention of the nominative sign in the fifth declension, any decisive argument against its original identity with the first. We will treat hereafter of the s of the nominative plural. the genitive singular the common form ei answers to deae (deai), the more rare, however, and better, in ēs to familias. Schneider searches, but fortunately without success, for genitives like die-is: we require them as little, perhaps, as a familia-is. Let dies be written with Greek letters διη-ς, and then, perhaps, a die-is will be as little required as Although a few bases of the third declension, by rejecting a consonant or an entire syllable, have passed into the fifth declension, we will not therefore infer that all bases in \bar{e} have arisen from such an abbreviation. QUIET, after rejecting the t, could be declined according to the fifth declension, then must there necessarily have formerly been a fifth, i.e. there must have been bases in \tilde{e} , otherwise from QUIET could only have come QUII (quies, quiis, like cades); in spite of the rejection of the t it must have continued in the third declension. the connection between $r\bar{e}$ -s and the abovementioned Sanscrit ? râi, the connection, in my opinion, is to be arrived at through the irregular nominative ग्रह rå-s; and according to this re-s would lean on an old a: it answers to ura-s, as $r\bar{e}-bus$ to trace ra-bhyas, and as in Greek $\gamma\hat{\eta}-\nu$ to the Sanscrit गाम gam, "terram," which, in the remaining cases, has n go for its base. In Lithuanian there are feminine primary forms in e (Ruhig's third declension) which resemble the Greek in η in the suppression of the singular nominative sign, but in the nominative plural in e-s approach more closely the Latin in \bar{e} .

122. Primary forms in wild are rare in Sanscrit: the only ones known to me are $\sin dy\delta$, "heaven," and $\eta \partial \theta$: the former is feminine, and properly proceeds from teq div (a radical word from feq div, "to shine") by the vocalization of the $\forall v$, after which the vowel $\forall i$ becomes its semi-vowel \mathbf{y} . In the accusative the δ roots change this diphthong into a. To the a thus obtained in the dya-m, गाम् gå-m corresponds the Latin e of die-m, the Greek η , Doric α of $\gamma \hat{\eta} - \nu$, $\gamma \hat{\alpha} - \nu$: the Latin e, however, is rendered short by the influence of the final m: the original language requires diē-m. In Sanscrit, also, from दिव् div, "to shine," are derived appellations of day; as on the other side, in Latin, those for the heaven—divum, sub divo, sub dio viz. दिवा diva, as an adverb, "by day," and used as a primary form at the beginning of compounds; and also दिवस divasa, masc., and स dyu, neuter (a contraction from div), which latter signifies both "day" and "heaven." To g dyu answers, after rejecting the d (as viginti for dviginti), the Latin Ju of Ju-piter, "heavens-lord or father": the oblique cases Jov-is, Jov-em answer better to the broader theme and dyb, whence the dative द्यवे dyav-ê, and the locat. द्वाच dyav-i. The Djovis, moreover, furnished by Varro, deserves mention, as that which keeps most faithfully to the ancient form. The Grecian Zeús signifies, therefore, in accordance with its origin primarily, "heaven": I form its relation to an dyô thus, that after dropping the ξd the following semi-vowel ξy became ζ (§. 19.). The oblique cases, on the contrary (Δio_{ς} , $\Delta i\iota$, &c.), belong to the Sanscrit w dyu, and must originally have had a digamma, arisen by the natural law of sound from u, after which change the semi-vowel j must have become a vowel. $\Delta \iota \delta \varsigma$ has the same relation to $\Delta \iota F \delta \varsigma$, that, in Latin, sub dio has to sub divo.

123. Let us now consider the second of the abovementioned primary forms in δ , viz. $\eta \delta$. It has several

meanings; but the most common are "bull," as masculine, and "cow" and "earth" as feminine. Both significations have in Zend, as in Greek, divided themselves into two forms. The Greek has preserved for the meaning "earth" the old guttural. With regard to the vowel of $\gamma \hat{\eta}$, $\gamma \hat{a}$ follows the example of the Indian accusative, where, as has been already remarked, πιπ gâm (γην) stands for gô-m or gav-am. For the meaning "ox" the Greek has preserved the old diphthong—(for, for \vec{w}) $\delta = a + u$ may very well be expected, according to §. 4, ov) — but has exchanged the guttural medials for labials, as, p. 122, βίβημι for সगाम jagámi. The stem BOY before vowels must originally have become BOF; thus, in the dative, $\beta \circ F - \ell$ would answer to the Sanscrit locat. गरि gav-i, and the Latin dative bov-i; but in the present state of the language the middle digamma between two vowels has always been dropped; and there is not, as with the initial digamma, the medium of metre for replacing it in the oldest writings. Only theory and comparative grammar can decide here. The Latin has, in the word $b\bar{o}$ -s, changed the vowels (a+u)—(which were originally of different kinds, but have been united into a diphthong)—into a homogenous mass (cf. §. 4.), the nature of whose contraction, however, discloses itself before vowel flections, since the u-half of $B\overline{O}$ becomes v, and the short a is resolved into the form of a short o; thus, bov-i answers to the Sanscrit locat. गिव gav-i. The Zend for the meaning "earth" has changed the guttural of the word under discussion into z, and gives in the nominative zwo zão for عسيم zás (§. 56^b.), in the accusative جمع zaim (§. 61.): I am not able to adduce other cases. For the meaning "ox" the guttural has remained in Zend, and the nominative is then wywo gau-s or wewo gao-s.

124. I know only two words in Sanscrit which terminate in भी du नी nau, "ship," and ही glau, "moon": the former has navigated very far on the ocean of our wide province

of language, without, however, in Sanscrit, having arrived at a secure etymological haven. I believe नौ náu to be an abbreviation of snau (cf. ρέω, ρεύω, ruo, with ৼ sru, p. 125.); and that it therefore proceeds from the root an end, "to bathe," which originally, perhaps, may also have meant "to swim," and with which νάω, νέω, na-to, appear to be connected. नी nau would consequently be a radical word; and in regard to the vowel would stand for na, according to the analogy of द्दी dadau (dedi, dedit) for dada, from dada-a. As a, according to §. 6., is a grave vowel, the Greek cannot represent the Sanscrit Vriddhi-diphthong with du better than by αv , while $\mathbf{v} \hat{\mathbf{r}} \delta$ (from short a + u) is commonly represented by ev or ov. Hence नीस nâu-s and vav-s correspond as exactly as possible; the v of NAY, however, like that of BOY, has maintained itself only before consonants; and the digamma, which replaces it, is lost before vowel inflections; νη̂-ες, νᾱ-ες are from νᾱF-ες (Sansc. नावस् náv-as), as $\beta \delta - \epsilon \varsigma$ from $\beta \delta F - \epsilon \varsigma$. The Latin has given this word a foreign addition, and uses navi-s, navi-bus, for nau-s, naubus*. As the semi-vowel v is easily hardened to a guttural (§. 19.), we have here also, for nau, nav-am, a sister form in our nachen, Old High German nacho, "ship," gen. dat. nacchin.

125. We pass over to the consonants: of these, n, t, s, and r appear in Sanscrit most frequently at the end of primary forms; all other consonants occur only in radical words, which are rare, and in some nominal bases of uncertain origin. We consider next the more rare or radical consonants. Of gutturals (k, kh, g, gh), we find none at

^{*} Thus in German an i has been added to the above-mentioned $\Re g\hat{o}$, which, however, according to §. 117., is suppressed, together with the case sign in Old High German; hence *chuo*, "cow," gen. *chuoi*, where the i does not belong to the case designations, but to their uninflected base.

the end of the nominal bases most in use; in Greek and Latin, on the contrary, they are of frequent occurrence; c is in Latin both radical and derivative, g only radical—DUC, VORAC, EDAC, LEG. In Greek, κ , χ , and γ are only radical, or occur in words of unknown origin, as PPIK, KOPAK, 'ONYX (Sanscrit nakha), $\Phi \Lambda O \Gamma$. Of the palatals, ch and j in Sanscrit occur most frequently in and vach, "speech, voice" (VOC, 'OП), राज् raj, "king," the latter only at the end of compounds; चस्त्र asrij, "blood" (sanguis); in Zend we have are druj, f., as name of an evil demon, probably from the Sanscrit root दूह druh, "to hate." the two classes of the T-sound, the first, or lingual (z t, &c.), is not used at the end of nominal bases; and therefore the second, dental, or proper T-class, is so much the more frequently employed. Still & d, w dh, occur only in radical words, and therefore seldom; uth perhaps only in un path, as the secondary theme of पिंचन् pathin, "way"; nom. पन्यास् panthás, from पन्थस् panthas, which I think I again recognise in the Latin PONT, pons. Other examples are, we ad, "eating," at the end of compounds, and ye yudh, f., "strife." The letter π t is so much the more common, that several of the most frequently employed suffixes end with it, as that of the part. pres. in wat or wat ant, Greek and Latin nt. The Greek, besides τ , exhibits also δ and θ at the end of primary forms which are not radical; still KOPYO and 'OPNIO appear to me to be properly compounds, and to contain the roots OH, ΘE (the vowel being dropped) as their last member; and according to this, KOPYO would properly mean "what is placed on the hand"; so in Sanscrit, शाद sarad, "autumn," "rainy season," which Grammarians explain by a suffix ad, in my opinion means nothing but "water giving," and contains the root हा da, "to give," with a suppressed. 'OPNIO finds in Greek itself no etymology: the Sanscrit offers for its explanation will arani (according to the pronunciation of Bengal, oroni), "wood"; and if opu is con-

nected therewith, we must think of $\theta \acute{e}\omega$, "to run," in respect of the θ : "bird" therefore would derive its name from its going in the wood; while in Sanscrit, from its passage through the air, it is called, amongst other names, विहम viha-ga. Regarding the later origin of the δ in feminine stems in $\iota\delta$, an account is given in §. 119.; that is to say, patronymics in id can be compared with Sanscrit ones in i, e.g. भेमो bhaimi, "the daughter of Bhîma. Probably, too, the δ in feminine patronymics in $\alpha\delta$ is a later addition; they spring, like those in 18, not from their masculines, but directly from the primary word of the masculine, and, in my opinion, stand in sisterly, not in filial connection with them. In Latin d appears as a more modern affix in the base PECUD, which the Sanscrit, Zend, and Gothic terminate with u (Sans.-Zend pasu, Goth. faihu). In Gothic, primary forms with a final T-sound are chiefly limited to the part. pres. where the old t appears changed into d, which remains without extraneous addition: there only, however, where the form stands substantively; otherwise, with the exception of the nominative, it is conducted by the affix an into a more current province of declension. The more modern German dialects under no circumstances leave the old T-sound without a foreign addition commixed with the base. Lithuanian the participial suffix ant, in regard of the nom. sing. ans for ants, rests exactly upon the Latin and Zend step, which extends beyond the Sanscrit; but in most of the remaining cases the Lithuanian cannot decline any more consonants, i.e. cannot unite them with pure case terminations, but it transports them always, by a more modern affix, into a vowel-declension; and, indeed, to the participial suffix ant is added the syllable ia, by the influence of which the t experiences the euphonic transformation into $ch = tsch^*$. The nasal of this dental

^{*} This sound is expressed by cz, as in Mielcke's edition of Ruhig's Grammar.

T-class, viz. the proper n, belongs to those consonants which occur most frequently at the end of nominal bases. In the German all the words of Grimm's weak declension like the Sanscrit, and the masculine and feminine in Latin, reject in the nominative the n of the base, and thereby have a vowel termination. The Lithuanian presents the same appearance in the nominative, but in the oblique cases adds to a base in en sometimes ia, sometimes a simple i.

126. Primary forms with a final labial, including the nasal (m) of this organ, appear in Sanscrit only in naked roots, as the last member of compounds, and here, too, but seldom. In isolated use, however, we have wy ap (probably from the root with ap, "to take in," "to comprehend"), "water," which is used only in the plural; in Zend, however, in the singular also.* In Greek and Latin, also, bases in p, b, ϕ are either evidently radical, or of unknown origin, with probably radical letters at the end; or in Latin they have suppressed, in the nominative, a vowel belonging to the base; and so, as in German, the first and fourth strong declension, according to Grimm, have only the appearance of a stem terminating with a consonant. Of this kind is plebs, from plebis; to explain which it is not requisite to turn, with Voss, to the Greek $\pi\lambda\hat{\eta}\theta_{0}$: one must keep to the Latin root PLE. The derivative bis, bes, I explain like bus, bundus, bilis, bam, bo (ama-

^{*} The Latin adds an a to this old consonant base, and thus arises, according to the frequent interchange of p with qu (cf. quinque with quart panchan), aqua; on the other hand, am-nis rests on the form ap, as somnus for sopnus, and σεμνός for σεβνός, in analogy with a Sanscrit euphonic law (Gramm. Crit. r. 58.). The Sanscrit has from the same root another neuter, with ûpas, in which we recognise the Latin æquor, which therefore would not proceed from æquus, but is transferred from the waves, or the mirror of the sea, to other things of a similar nature. In Greek, ἀφρός appears to belong to the same origin.

bam, bo), as from the root FU, "to be," which, like FER, often changes the B in its middle into F (§. 18.). out appealing to the kindred languages, it is difficult, in Latin, to distinguish those bases which truly and originally terminate in a consonant from those which only appear to do so; for the declension in i has clearly operated on the consonant declension, and introduced an i into different places in which it is impossible it could have stood originally. In the dative ablative plural, the i of forms like amantibus, vocibus, admits of being explained as a conjunctive vowel, for facilitating the affix; it is, however, in my opinion, more correct to say that the bases VOC, AMANT, &c., because they could not unite with bus, have, in the present state of the Latin language, extended themselves to VOCI, AMANTI; so that we ought to divide vocibus, amanti-bus, just as at §. 125. it was said of the Lithuanian, that in most cases it extends its participial bases in ant to anchia (euphonic for antia). This view of forms like amanti-bus proves itself thereby to be the more probable, in that in the genitive plural also before um, as before the a of neuters, an i frequently finds its place, without its being possible to say that in amanti-um, amanti-a, the i would be necessary to facilitate the annexation of the On the other hand, juveni-s, cani-s, forming the genitives can-um, juven-um, remind us of older bases in n; aş in Sanscrit भान śvan, "a dog" (abbreviated जुन śun), and युवन yuvan, "young" (abbreviated यून yûn), in Greek κύων, abbreviated KYN, really close their theme with n. The German resembles the Latin in this point, that for the convenience of declension it has added an i to several numerals, whose theme originally terminated with a consonant; thus, in Gothic, from FIDVORI (Sanscrit नार chatur, in the strong cases §. 129. The chatvar) comes the dative fidvôri-m. The themes समन् saptan, "seven," नवन navan, "nine," दशन् daśan, "ten," by the addition of an i, in Old High German mould themselves to SIBUNI, NIUNI, ZEHANI; which forms, at the same time, pass as masculine nominatives, as these cases, in Old High German, have lost the case-suffix s. The corresponding Gothic nominatives, if they occurred, would be sibunei-s, niunei-s, taihunei-s. More on this point hereafter.

127. Of the semi-vowels (y, r, l, v), I have never found in Sanscrit q y and eq l at the end of bases, and ब्v only in the word दिव्div, before mentioned, which contracts itself in several cases to wild dyo and way dyu. the other hand, z occurs very frequently, especially in words which are formed by the suffix at tar*, to which, in the kindred languages, likewise correspond bases in r. Moreover, r in Latin appears frequently as an alteration of an original s, as, in the comparative suffix ior (Sanscrit ईयस iyas); and, further, as an abbreviation of ri-s, re, as l for li-s, le; or, in the second declension, as abbreviated from ru-s; as, in Gothic, vair, "man," for vair(a)-s, belongs to bases in a (§. 116.). In Greek AA appears as a consonant base; but in contrast with the Sanscrit सहिल salila, "water," ἄλ-ς appears abbreviated exactly in the same manner as μέγα-ς from μεγαλος.

128. Of the Sanscrit sibilants, the two first (\mathbf{x} \dot{s} , \mathbf{z} \dot{s}), as also the \mathbf{z} h, are found only in radical words, and therefore seldom; \mathbf{z} \dot{s} , on the contrary, concludes some very common suffixes used in the formation of words, as \mathbf{z} \mathbf{z} \dot{s} , which forms principally neuters, e.g. have the \dot{s} \dot{s} splendour," "strength," from have \dot{s} \dot

^{*} Bases in war ar in several cases, and in the primary form also at the beginning of compounds, contract the syllable war ar to we ri; and this wi is regarded by the Grammarians as their proper final sound. (§. 1.)

vowels, especially in the last syllable, is usually rejected; hence, neuters like μένος, γένος (from MENEΣ, ΓΕΝΕΣ, with change of the ϵ into o), form in the genitive $\mu \epsilon \nu \epsilon o \varsigma$, γένεος, for μένεσος, γένεσος. The ς of the nominative, however, belongs, as I have already elsewhere remarked, to the base, and not to the case designation, as neuters have no s in the nominative. In the dative plural, however, in the old epic language, the Σ , as it did not stand between two vowels, maintained itself; hence τεύχεσ-σι, ὄρεσ-σι; so likewise in compounds, like σακές-παλος, τελεςφόρος, in which it would be wrong to assume the annexation of a Σ to the vowel of the stem. In $\gamma \hat{\eta} \rho \alpha \varsigma$, $\gamma \hat{\eta} \rho \alpha - o \varsigma$, for $\gamma\eta\rho\alpha\sigma$ -os, after restoring the Σ of the stem, the form of word answers exactly to the Sanscrit जास jaras, "age," although the Indian form is not neuter, but feminine. nian, another remarkable remnant of the Sanscrit suffixes terminating with s has been preserved, viz. in the partic. perf., in the oblique cases of which us corresponds to the Sanscrit sq ush (euphonic for sq us) of the weakest cases (§. 130.); still, in Lithuanian, on account of the abovenoticed incapacity for the declension of the consonants, the old us is conducted, as in other similar cases, by the subsequent addition of ia, a or i, partly into the a, partly into the *i* declension; and only the nominative and the vocative, which is the same with it, belong, in the singular, to the consonant declension.

139. The Sanscrit and Zend have eight cases, viz. besides those which exist in Latin, an instrumental and a locative. These two cases exist also in Lithuanian; Ruhig calls the former the instrumental ablative, the latter the local ablative; in Lithuanian, however, the proper ablative—which in Sanscrit expresses the relation "whence?"—is wanting. With reference to the primary form, which in Sanscrit does not remain the same in all words, or

suffixes used in the formation of words through all the cases, a division of the cases into strong and weak is desirable for this language. The strong cases are the nominative, accusative, and vocative of the three numbers, with exception of the accusative plural, which, together with all the other cases, is weak. Where a double or triple formation of the primary form exists, there, with surprising regularity, the cases which have been designated as strong always exhibit the fullest form of the theme, which, from a comparison of languages, is proved to be the original one; while the other cases exhibit a weakened form of it, which appears also in the beginning of compounds, and hence is represented by the native Grammarians, according to §. 112., as the proper primary form. part. may serve as an example: it forms the strong cases with the suffix ant, but in the weak cases and in the beginning of compounds rejects n, which is retained by the kindred European languages, as also, for the most part, by Zend; so that wan at is given as the suffix of this participle in preference to जन ant. The root तुद् tud, " to vex," e.g. exhibits in the participle mentioned the form तुद्दन्त tudant as the strong and original theme (cf. tundent-em), and तृद्त tudat as the weak theme; hence the masculine is declined,

| | | | " WILL CITOTON |
|---------|------------------|------------------|------------------------|
| Singula | r: Nom. Voc. | तुद्दम् tudan | • • • • • • |
| | Acc. | तुदनाम् tudantam | |
| | Instr. | | तुद्रता tudatā. |
| | Dat. | | तुद्ते tudatê. |
| | Abl. | | तुदतस् tudatas. |
| | Gen. | | तुद्रतस् tudatas. |
| | Loc. | | तुद्ति tudati. |
| Dual: | Nom. Acc. Voc. | तुदम्ती tudantâu | |
| 1 | Instr. Dat. Abl. | | तुद्द्याम् tudadbhyåm. |
| | Gen. Loc. | | तुदतीस् tudatôs. |
| | | | |

STRONG CASES.

WEAK CASES.

| | Nom. Voc | strong cases. | | WEAK CASES. |
|---------|-----------|---------------|-----|-----------------------|
| Plural: | | | | |
| | Acc. | | • • | तुदतम् tudatas. |
| | Instr. | | • • | तुद्धिस् tudadbhis. |
| | Dat. Abl. | | | तुद्द्रस् tudadbhyas. |
| | Gen. | | | तुद्रताम् tudatâm. |
| | Loc. | | • • | तुदासु tudatsu. |

130. Where three formations of the primary form pervade the declension of a word or a suffix, the weakest form of the theme there occurs in those weak cases whose terminations begin with a vowel, the middle form before those case-suffixes which commence with a consonant. This rule makes a division of the cases into strong, weaker or middle, and weakest, desirable. (See Gramm. Crit. r. 185.)

131. In suffixes used in the formation of words, which in Sanscrit separate into different forms, the Zend usually carries the strong form through all the cases; for instance, the part. pres. retains the nasal in most of the cases, which in Sanscrit proceed from the weakened theme. Words, however, are not wanting which follow the theory of the Sanscrit gradations of form. Thus, the Sanscrit base जन śvan, "hound," which in the weakest cases is contracted to जुन sun, appears in Zend likewise in a double form, and presents the weak genitive sûn-o over against the strong nominative and accusative spa, spanĕm, Sanscrit मा śvá, मानम् śvánam (§. 50.). The base ap, "water," which, in Sanscrit, in the strong cases has a long a, but is not used in the singular, forms in the Zend the strong sing. nom. שלש Afs (§. 40.), accus. בשלא dfs (§. 40.), accus. בעלא apem; on the other hand, ap-ô, "of the water," "from the water," &c. In the plural, where the Zend

^{*} This word occurs in the Codex of the V. S., edited by Burnouf, very frequently, and mostly with that quantity of the initial a which is required by the theory; so that where that is not the case it can only be imputed to an error in writing.

very frequently makes the nominative and accusative the same, confusion has, from this reason, crept in; and the weak \$1900 sund, "canes," is found for \$100000 spano in the nominative; and, on the other hand, the strong \$1000 aps, in the nominative as well as in the accusative."

132. The Greek, in the declension of κύων, has limited the strong form to the nom. and voc. sing.: in some kindred words in ρ , however, in accordance with the Sanscrit, it has given the accusative also the strong form, in which the Gothic agrees with it. Compare πατήρ, πατέρα, πάτερ, πατρί, with funi pita, funce pitaram, funz pitar, fust pitri (locat.); and the Gothic brôthar, as nom., accus., and vocat., opposed to brôthrs, "of the brother," brôthr, "to the brother," with the Sanscrit भाता bhráta, भातरम् bhrátaram, भातर् bhrátar, dative भाने bhråtre, locat. भानि bhråtri. According to the same principle in bases in an, in Gothic, the a in the genitive and dative sing. is weakened to i (§. 140.); while the nominative, accus., and vocat. retain the original a; e.g. ahma, ahmin-s, ahmin, ahman, ahma, from AHMAN, "spirit" (§. 14⁷.).

133. As regards the mode of combining the final vowels of the primary forms with case-suffixes beginning with a vowel, we must first draw attention to a phenomenon, which is almost limited to the Sanscrit, and the dialects which approximate most nearly to it, as Pali and Prâkrit, through

^{*} I have, however, found also pour apô in the accusative; and am therefore in doubt, whether in this word, owing to the facile exchange of u a and u â, the confusion has not originated in mere graphical overaights. Thus, V. S. p. 21, we find: Euroment with with the page following: apo vanhuis vahista maxdadhâtâo ashaonis âyêsê, "aquas puras, optimas, ab Ormuzdo creatas, mundas celebro"; and pour europy vispão âpô, "omnes aquas." On the other hand, in the page following: upunçes upundu europeicha âyêsê, "aquas puras, optimas aquas." On the other hand, in the page following: upunçes upundu europeicha âyêsê, "has aquasque terrasque arboresque celebro."

which, to avoid a hiatus, and to maintain pure the vowels of the base and of the termination, a euphonic n is intro-This euphonic expedient cannot, in the extent in duced. which it exists in Sanscrit, belong to the original state of the language; otherwise it would not be almost entirely lost in the kindred European dialects, and even in the Zend. We therefore regard it as a peculiarity of the dialect, which, after the period of the division of languages, became the prevailing one in India, and has raised itself to be the universal written language in that country. It is necessary here to remark, that the Vêda language did not use the euphonic n so universally as the common Sanscrit; and together with एना ênâ, इना inâ, उना unâ, occur also चया aya, इया iya, उया uya. The euphonic n is most frequently employed by the neuter gender, less so by the masculine, and most rarely by the feminine: the latter limits its use to the plural genitive termination जान् am, in which place it is introduced by the Zend also, although not as indispensably requisite. And it is remarkable, that precisely in this place in Old High German, and other old German dialects, an n has been retained before the casesuffix; thus in Old High German, ahô-n-ô, "aquarum," from the feminine theme $AH\bar{O}$ (nom. aha). Besides the use of the euphonic n, there is further to be remarked, in Sanscrit and Zend, the attachment of Guna to the vowels of the base (§. 26.) in certain cases, to which also the Gothic presents analogies.

SINGULAR.

NOMINATIVE.

134. Bases ending with a vowel of the masculine and feminine genders have, in the Sanscrit family of languages, (under the limitation of §. 137.) s as nominative-suffix, which in Zend, after an a preceding it, always melts into u, and is then contracted with the a to δ (§. 2.), which in Sanscrit

takes place only before sonant letters (§. 25.)* Examples are given at §. 148. I find the origin of this case-designation in the pronominal base π sa, "he," "this," fem. π sa; and a convincing proof of this assertion is the fact, that the said pronoun does not extend beyond the limits of the nom. masc. and fem., but is replaced in the nom. neuter, and in the oblique cases of the masculine by π ta, and feminine π ta, regarding which more hereafter.

135. The Gothic suppresses a and i before the casesuffix s, except in monosyllabic bases, where this suppression is impossible. Hva-s, "who?" i-s, "he," are used, but vulf-s, "wolf," gast-s, "stranger," for vulfa-s, gasti-s (cf. hosti-s, according to §. 87.). In masculine substantive bases in ja (ya), however, the final vowel is retained, only weakened to i (§. 66.); e. g. harji-s, "army." If, however, as is generally the case, the final syllable is preceded by a long syllable, or by more than one, then ji(yi) is contracted to $ei (=i, \S. 70.)$; e.g. and ei-s, "end," ragine i-s, "counsel," This contraction extends also to the for andji-s, raginji-s. genitive, which is in like manner denoted by s. To the Gothic nominatives in ji-s correspond the Lithuanian, like Atpirktoji-s, "Saviour," the i of which has likewise arisen from an elder a.[†] I deduce this from the majority of the oblique cases, which agree with those of the a bases. Where, however, in Lithuanian, a consonant precedes the final syllable ja, which is the more common case, there the j is changed into the vowel i, and the following i, which had arisen from a, is suppressed: hence, jaunikki-s, "young man," for jaunikkji-s from jaunikkja-s. Hereto correspond in Gothic all adjective bases in ja, as midi-s,

^{*} E.g. Had suto mama, "filius meus," Han na sutas tava, "filius tuus (§. 22.).

[†] Through the influence of the j, in accordance with a Zend law of euphony (§. 42.).

"the middle" (man), for midji-s from midja-s, Sansc. The Zend also, in the vocalization of the syllable ja, presents a remarkable analogy to the Lithuanian and Gothic in contracting the syllable up ya before a final ξ m regularly to ξ i, as also up va to ξ i (§. 42.).

136. The High German has, up to our time, preserved the old nominative sign in the changed form of r; nevertheless, as early as in the Old High German only in pronouns and adjectives, with a vowel termination of the The High German is, however, in this point, superior to the Gothic in fulness, that in its a bases—to which belong all strong adjectives—it has not suppressed the vowel before the case-sign, but preserved it in the form of e, which, in Old High German—as it appears through the influence of the r—is long, but only in polysyllabic, not in monosyllabic forms. Thus, plinte-r, "cœcus," completes the Gothic blindh-s for blinda-s; to the Gothic i-s, "he," corresponds i-r; Middle and New High German The Old Northern has likewise r as the nominative sign, and, in fact, everywhere, where in Gothic, s stands. In the other dialects the nominative character is entirely lost.

137. Feminine Sanscrit bases in \mathfrak{A} , and, with very few exceptions, polysyllables in \mathfrak{L} , together with \mathfrak{A} stri, "wife," like the corresponding forms of the kindred languages, have lost the old nominative sign (with the exception of the Latin ℓ bases, see §. 121.), and give the pure base: the kindred languages do the same, the base having been weakened by the abbreviation of the final vowel. In Gothic, ℓ becomes a (§. 69.); only $s\ell$, "this," and $hre\ell$, "which?" remain unshortened, on account of their being monosyllabic, as in Zend we $h\ell$ and we $k\ell$; while in polysyllabic forms the

^{*} I have used vocalization and vocalize to express the change of a semivowel to its corresponding vowel.—Trans.

u d is shortened. In Zend, ب also is shortened, even in the monosyllabic word, "wife," see V. S. p. 136, by Olshausen, p. 28, where we read אטאנאט stri-cha, "feminaque"; whilst elsewhere the appended we cha preserves the original length of the vowel. Here, too, the Zend nominatives in » & deserve to be mentioned, which seem very similar to the Greek in η; as κ/ς/ς૭ pĕrĕnê, " plena," which in the Vendidad occurs very often in relation to zao, "earth," without my being able to remember that I have found another case from sign perene. But from the nom. פענן kaine, "maid" (Sanscrit אינון kanya), which is of frequent occurrence, I find the accus. follows kanyanm (V. S. p. 420.); this furnishes the proof that the m & in the nominative is generated by the euphonic influence of the suppressed is y (§. 42.). In significantly braturye, "cousin," and φιλίως tiàryê, a relation in the fourth degree (V. S. p. 380.), the 33 y has remained; on the other hand, in nyakê, "grandmother," the dropping of a 33 y must be again assumed. We cannot here refrain from conjecturing that the \bar{e} also of the Latin fifth declension, as with very few exceptions it is everywhere preceded by an i, is likewise produced from \bar{a} by the influence of this i; so that the Latin here stands in reversed relation to the Greek, where ι rejects the combination with η , and preserves the original α ($\sigma \circ \phi \circ \alpha$).

138. Bases of the masculine and feminine genders which terminate with a consonant, lose, in Sanscrit, according to §. 94, the nominative sign s; and if two consonants terminate the base, then, according to the same law, the latter of these also is lost. Hence, for the bibbrat, for fine bibbrat-s, "the bearer"; gen tudan, for general tudant-s, "the vexer"; was vak (from any vach, f.), for any vak-sh, "speech." The Zend, Greek, and Latin, in preserving the nominative sign after consonants, stand in an older position than the Sanscrit; Zend was af-s

(for ap-s, §. 40.), "water"; κόξες κἔτἔς, "body"; ατυσ-s (from the base druj), "a demon." The Latin and Greek, where the final consonant of the base will not combine with the s of the nominative, prefer abandoning a portion of the base, as χάρις for χάριτ-ς, comes for comit-s (cf. §. 6.). The Latin, Æolic, and Lithuanian agree remarkably with the Zend in this point, that nt, in combination with s, gives the form ns; thus amans, τιθένς, Lith. sukańs (§. 10.), correspond to the Zend walks sravayańs, "the speaker."

139. A final n after a short vowel is, in Sanscrit, no favourite combination of sound, although one not prohibited. It is expelled from the theme in the first member of a compound, e.g. राजपुत्र raja-putra, "king's son," for राजन्युत्र rajan-putra; and it is rejected in the nominative also, and a preceding short vowel is lengthened in masculines; e.g. राजा râjâ, "king," from राजन râjan, m.; नाम nâma, "name," from नामन् nâman, n.; धनी dhanî, m., धनि dhani, n., from चनिन् dhanin, "rich." The Zend in this agrees exactly with the Sanscrit; but from the dislike to a long a at the end, which has been before mentioned, omits the lengthening of the vowel; e.g. איש ashava, "the pure" (man), from אאניטא ashavan, m.; און chashma, "eye," from אַנעָבְּאָט chashman, n. The Latin follows the Sanscrit in the suppression of the n in the nominative, in the masculine, and feminine, but not in the neuter: sermo, sermon-is, actio, action-is; but nomen, not nome or nomo. The root can, at the end of compounds, refrains from rejecting the n, probably in order not to weaken still more this weak radical syllable; thus tubi-cen, fidi-cen, os-cen (see Lien is an abbreviation of lieni-s; hence the retention of the n is not surprising. Pecten stands rather isolated. In Sanscrit the naked roots also follow the principle of the rejection of n; हन "slaying," "smiting," nom. W ha, is, however, the only root in n which I have

met with so used. भान śvan, "hound," nom. भा śva, which, in the weakest cases, contracts its theme to sign sun, is of obscure origin. The Latin has extended the base चन śvan, in the nominative, by an unorganic addition, to cani; so युवन yuvan, "young," has become juveni (cf. §. 126.). As regards the opposition between o and i, by which, in several words—as homo, homin-is, arundo, arundin-is — the nominative is distinguished from the oblique cases, this o appears to me a stronger vowel,* which compensates for the loss of the n, and therefore is substituted for the weaker i; according to the same principle by which, in Sanscrit, the nom. पनी dhani, toomes from चिन्न dhanin; and, in Lithuanian, bases in en and un give, in the nominative, \hat{u} (=uo) for ϵ or u. Thus, from the bases akmen, "stone," szun, "hound," come the nominatives akmů, szů; as in Sanscrit, from the primary forms of the same signification, अञ्चन asman, भान svan, have arisen पाइमा asma and पा sva. It does not follow that homin-is has come from homon-is, because the old language had hemo, hemonis, for homo, hominis; but mon and min are kindred suffixes, signifying the same, and were originally one, and therefore may be simultaneously affixed to one and the same word.

140. The German language also rejects a final n of the base in the nominative and in the neuter, in the accusative also, like Sanscrit. In Gothic, in the masculine

^{*} Although its quantity in the actual condition of the language is arbitrary, still it appears to have been originally long, and to imply a similar contrast to the Greek $\eta\nu$, $\varepsilon\nu$ -os; $\omega\nu$, $o\nu$ -os. For the rest it has been already remarked, that between short vowels also exists a difference of gravity (\S . 6.).

[†] In bases in जन an the lengthening extends to all the strong cases, with the exception of the vocat. sing.; thus, not merely गुजा râjâ, "rex," but also गुजानम् râjân-âm, "regem," गुजानम् râjânas, "reges."

and neuter—where alone, in my opinion, the n has an old and original position—an a always precedes the n. There are, that is to say, only bases in an, none in in and un; the latter termination is foreign to the Sanscrit also. The a_i however, is weakened to i in the genitive and dative (see §. 132.); while in Sanscrit, in these cases, as especially in the weakest cases (§. 130.), it is entirely dropped.* Among masculine bases in an, in Gothic, exist several words, in which an is the whole derivation-suffix, and which therefore correspond to the Sansc. यजन raj-an, "king," as ruler. Thus, AH-AN, "ghost," as thinker (ah-ju, "I think"), STAU-AN, "Judge" (stau-ja, "I judge"), whence the nominatives aha, staua. There are also, as in Sanscrit, some masculine formations in man; as, AH-MAN, "spirit," nom. ahma, with which perhaps the Sansc. जानन at-man, "soul," nom. WINT atma, is connected; in case this stands for ah-man, and comes from a lost root wie ah, "to think," where it is to be remembered that the root नह nah, "to bind," also has, in several places, changed its h into t. The Gothic MILH-MAN, nom. milh-ma, "cloud," appears to have sprung from the Sanscrit root mih, by the addition of an l, whence, remarkably enough, by the suffix a, and by exchanging the Th for The gh, arises the nominal base मचे mêgha, "cloud." In Latin, ming-o answers to निह mih, and in Greek ο-μιχ-έω; the meaning is in the three languages the same.

141. Neuter stems in an, after rejecting the n, lengthen, in Gothic, the preceding a to δ , in the nominative, accusa-

^{*} In case two consonants do not precede the termination जन् un; e.g. जासनस् âtman-as, not âtmn-as, but नासस् nâmn-us, not nâman-as, "nominis."

⁺ Perhaps identical with with with to speak," which really occurs, as with man, "to think," in Zend means also "to speak"; whence with manthra, "speech," and in Gothic muntha, nom. munths, "mouth" (§. 66.).

tive, and vocative, which sound the same; so that in these cases the Gothic neuter follows the theory of the strong cases (§. 129.), which the Sanscrit neuter obeys only in the nom., accus., and vocat. plural, where, for example, पतारि catvar-i, "four," with a strong theme, is opposed to the weak cases like चतुनिस् chaturbhis (instr.), चतुन्यस् chaturbhyas. The a, also, of neuter bases in an is lengthened in the nominative, accusative, and vocative plural in Sanscrit, and in Gothic; and hence नमानि naman-i, Gothic namon-a, run parallel to one another. However, in Gothic namn-a also exists, according to the theory of the Sanscrit weakest cases (§. 130.), whence proceeds the plural genitive नामान् namn-am, "nominum"; while the Gothic namon-e has permitted itself to be led astray by the example of the strong cases, and would be better written namn-e or namin-ê.

142. In the feminine declension in German I can find no original bases in n, as also in Sanscrit there exist no feminines in an or in; but feminine bases are first formed by the addition of the usual feminine character ξi ; as, राज्ञी rajni, "queen," from राजन rajan; धनिनी dhanini, "the rich" (fem.), from धनिन dhanin, m.n. "rich." Gothic feminine substantive bases in n exhibit, before this consonant, either an δ (= \mathbf{w}_i , §. 69.) or ei: these are genuine feminine final vowels, to which only subsequently the addition of an n can have been made. And already, at §. 120., a close connection of bases in ein (=in) with the Sanscrit in ξi , and Lithuanian in i, has been pointed out. stantive bases in *ein* are feminine derivations from masculine-neuter adjective bases in a, under the same relation, excluding the modern n, as in Sanscrit, सुन्द्री sundari, "the fair" (woman), from सुन्दर sundara m. n. "beautiful." Gothic substantive bases in ein for the most part raise the adjective, whence they are derived, to an abstract; e.g. MANAGEIN, "crowd," nominat. managei, from the adjective base MANAGA (nominative masc. manag-s, neut. managa-ta); MIKILEIN, nom. mikilei, "greatness," from MIKILA (mikil-s, mikila-ta), "great." As to feminine bases in on, they have arisen from feminine bases in o; and I have already observed that feminine adjective bases in ôn as BLINDON, nom. blindô, gen. blindôn-s must be derived, not from their masculine bases in an, but from the primitive feminine bases in δ (nom. a, Grimm's strong adjective). Substantive bases with the genitive feminine in ôn presuppose older ones in δ ; and correspond, where comparison is made with old languages connected in their bases, to Sanscrit feminines in a, Greek in a, η , Latin in a; and in these old languages never lead to bases with a final n. Thus, $TUGG\overline{O}N$ (pronounced $tung \delta n$), nom. $tugg \delta$, answers to the Latin lingua, and to the Sanscrit fixe jihva (=dschihua, see §. 17.); and $DAUR\overline{O}N$, nom. daurb, to the Greek $\theta \dot{\nu} \rho \alpha$; VIDOVON, nom. vidôvô, "widow," to the Sanscrit विश्ववा vidhava, "the without man" (from the prep. वि vi and भव dhava, "man"), and the Latin vidua. It is true that, in MITATHJON, "measure," nom. mitathjo, the suffix thjon completely answers to the Latin tion, e.g. in ACTION; but here in Latin, too, the on is a later addition, as is evinced from the connection of ti-on with the Sanscrit suffix fa ti, of the same import, and Greek $\sigma_{i-\varsigma}$ (old $\tau_{i\varsigma}$), Gothic ti, thi, di (see \S . 91.). And in Gothic, together with the stem MI-TATHJON exists one signifying the same, MITATHI, In RATHJON, nom. rathjo, "account," a nom. mitaths. relationship with RATION, at least in respect of the suffix, is only a seeming one; for in Gothic the word is to be divided thus, rath-jôn: the th belongs, in the Gothic soil, to the root, whence the strong part. rath-an(a)-s has been pre-The suffix jon, of RATHJON, therefore corresponds to the Sanscrit ya; e.g. in fam vid-ya, "knowledge." Of the same origin is $GA-RUN-J\overline{O}N$, nom. garunjo, "inundation."

143. If a few members of a great family of languages have suffered a loss in one and the same place, this may be accident, and may be explained on the general ground, that all sounds, in all languages, especially when final, are subject to abrasion; but the concurrence of so many languages in a loss in one and the same place points to relationship, or to the high antiquity of such a loss; and in the case before us, refers the rejection of an n of the base in the nominative to a period before the migration of languages, and to the position of the original site of the human races, which were afterwards separated. It is surprising, therefore, that the Greek, in this respect, shews no agreement with its sisters; and in its v stems, according to the measure of the preceding vowel, abandons either merely the nominative sign, or the v alone, never both together. It is a question whether this is a remnant of the oldest period of language, or whether the v bases, carried away by the stream of analogies in the other consonant declensions, and by the example of their own oblique cases, which do not permit the remembrance of the v to be lost, again returned, at a comparatively later period, into the common and oldest path, after they had experienced a similar loss to the Sanscrit, Zend, &c., by which we should be conducted to nominative forms like εὐδαίμω, εὖδαιμο, τέρη, τέρε, τάλα, τάλα? I do not venture to decide with positiveness on this point, but the latter view appears to be the more probable. It here deserves to be remarked, that, in German, the n, which in Gothic, in the nominative, is always suppressed, has in more modern dialects made its way in many words from the oblique cases again into the nominative. So early as the Old High German this was the case; and, in fact, in feminine bases in in (Gothic ein, §. 70.), which, in the nominative, oppose to the Gothic ei the full base in; as guotlihhin, "glory" (see Grimm, p. 6:8). In our New High

German the phenomenon is worthy of notice, that many original n bases of the masculine gender, through a confusion in the use of language, are, in the singular, treated as if they originally terminated in na; i.e. as if they belonged to Grimm's first strong declension. Hence the n makes its appearance in the nominative, and the genitive regains the sign s, which, indeed, in Gothic, is not wanting in the n bases, but in High German was withdrawn from them more than a thousand years since. Brunnen, Brunnens, is used instead of the Old High German prunno, prunnin, and the Gothic brunna, brunnin-s. In some words, together with the restored n there occurs in the nominative, also, the ancient form with n suppressed, as Backe or Backen, Same or Samen; but the genitive has in these words also introduced the s of the strong declension. Among neuters the word Herz deserves consideration. The base is, in Old High German, HERZAN, in Middle High German HERZEN; the nominatives are, herza, herze; the New German suppresses, together with the n of Herzen, the vowel also, as is done by many masculine n bases; as, e.g. Bär for Bäre. As this is not a transition into the strong declension, but rather a greater weakening of the weak nominative, the form Herzens, therefore, in the genitive, for an uninflected Herzen, is surprising. With this assumed or newly-restored inflection s would be to be compared, in Greek, the nominative s, as of $\delta \epsilon \lambda \phi i - \varsigma$, $\mu \epsilon \lambda \alpha - \varsigma$; and with the n of Brunnen for Brunne, the ν of $\delta\alpha i\mu\omega\nu$, $\tau \epsilon\rho\eta\nu$; in case, as is rendered probable by the kindred languages, these old forms have been obtained from still older, as δελφί, μέλα, δαίμω, τέρη, by an unorganic retrograde step into the stronger declension.*

^{*} That, in Greek, the renunciation of a ν of the base is not entirely unknown may be here shewn by an interesting example. Several cardinal numbers in Sanscrit conclude their base with π n; viz. punchan,

144. Bases in war ar (w ri, §. 1.) in Sanscrit reject the r in the nominative, and, like the stems in π n, lengthen the preceding vowel; e.g. from पितर pitar, "father," आतर् bhråtar, "brother," मातर् matar, "mother," दुहितर् duhitar, "daughter," come पिता pita, भाता bhrata, माता mata, दुहिता duhita. lengthening of the a serves, I believe, as a compensation for the rejected r. As to the retention, however, through all the strong cases, excepting the vocative, of the long a of the agent, which corresponds to Greek formations in τερ, τωρ, to Latin in tor, this takes place because, in all probability, in these words my tar, and not my tar, is the original form of the suffix; and this is also supported by the length of the suffix being retained in Greek and Latin through all the cases— $\tau\epsilon\rho$, $\tau\omega\rho$, $t\bar{o}r$; only that in Latin a final r, in polysyllabic words, shortens an originally long Compare vowel.

| SANSCRI | T. | GREEK. | LATIN. |
|----------------|--------------------|-----------|-----------|
| Nom. sing. | दाता dâtâ, | δοτήρ, | datōr. |
| Acc. sing. | दातास्न् dåtår-am, | δοτῆρ-α, | datōr-em. |
| N. A. V. dual, | दातारी dâtâr-au, | δοτῆρ-ε, | |
| Nom. Voc. pl. | दातारम् dâtâr-as, | δοτῆρ-ες, | datōr-es. |

The Zend follows the analogy of the Sanscrit, both in the rejection of the r in the nominative, and in the length

panchan, "five," saptan, "seven," ashṭan with ashṭau, "eight," navan, "nine," daśan, "ten." These numerals are, indeed, used adjectively, when they are not governed by the gender of their substantive, but display always a neuter form, and indeed, which is surprising, in the nominative, accusative, and vocative sing. terminations, but in the other cases the suitable plural endings; e.g. un unique pancha (not panchānas) rājānas, "quinque reges"; on the other hand, unique panchasu rājasu "in quinque regibus." To the neuter nominatives and accusative of the singular un pancha, un sapta, and anava, and and accusative of the regular suppression of the n—answer the Greek πέντε, ἐπτὰ, ἐννέα, δέκα, with the distinction that they have become quite indeclinable, and retain the old uninflected nominative through all the cases.

of the preceding a of the noun agent, in the same places as in the Sanscrit, with the exception of the nominative singular, where the long a, as always when final, is shortened; e.g. มองมอ paita, "father," มอมษ data, "giver," "Creator;" acc. felugius paitar-ĕm, felugius dâtâr-ĕm. nian there are some interesting remains, but only of feminine bases in er, which drop this letter in the nominative, but in most of the oblique cases extend the old er base by the later addition of an i. Thus mote, "wife," dukte, "daughter," answer to the abovementioned ana mâtâ, दुहिता duhitâ; and, in the plural, moter-es, dukter-es, to मातरस् matar-as, दुहितरस् duhitar-as. In the genitive singular I regard the form moter-s, dukter-s, as the elder and more genuine, and moteries, dukteries, as corruptions belonging to the i bases. In the genitive plural the base has kept clear of this unorganic i; hence moter-û, dukter-û, not moteri-û, dukteri-û. Besides the words just mentioned, also, the stem SESSER, "sister," belongs to this place: it answers to the Sanscrit खस् svasar, nom. खसा svasa; but distinguishes itself in the nominative from mote and dukte, in that the e after the analogy of en stems passes into u, thus sessů.

145. The German languages agree in their r bases (to which but a few words belong denoting affinity) with the Greek and Latin in this point, that, contrary to the analogy just described, they retain the r in the nominative. As πατήρ, μητήρ, θυγάτηρ, δαήρ (Sanscrit, ἐπι dêvar, ἐπι dêvar, και dêvar), frater, soror; so in Gothic, brôthar, svistar, dauhtar; in Old High German, vatar, pruodar, suëstar, tohtar. It is a question whether this r in the nominative is a remnant of the original language, or, after being anciently suppressed, whether it has not again made its way in the actual condition of the language from the oblique cases into the nominative. I think the latter more probable; for the Sanscrit, Zend, and Lithuanian are three witnesses

for the antiquity of the suppression of the r; and the Greek words like πατήρ, μήτηρ, σωτήρ, ἡήτωρ, exhibit something peculiar and surprising in the consonant declension, in that ρ and ς not combining, they have not rather preferred giving up the base-consonant than the case-sign (as $\pi \alpha \hat{i}_{\varsigma}$, $\pi o \hat{i}_{\varsigma}$, &c.). It would appear that the form $\tau \eta_{\varsigma}$ is of later origin, for this reason, that the ρ having given place to the nominative ς , the form $\tau\eta$ - ς , whence $\tau\eta\rho$ - $\varsigma\varsigma$ should come, was, by an error of language, made to correspond to The want of a kindred the η - ς of the first declension. form in Latin, as in Zend and Sanscrit, as also the, in other respects, kindred form and similarity of meaning with $\pi \eta t dr$, $t \bar{o} - r$, $\tau \eta \rho$ and $\tau \omega \rho$, speak at least plainly enough for the spuriousness and comparative youth of the nouns of agency in ths.

146. Masculine and feminine primary forms in wat as in Sanscrit lengthen the a in the nominative singular. They are, for the most part, compounded, and contain, as the last member, a neuter substantive in चस् as, as दुनेनस् durmanas, "evil-spirited," from दुस् dus (before sonant letters—§. 25.—दुर् dur) and मनस munas, "spirit," whence the nom. masc. and fem. दुनेनास durmanas, neut. दुनेनस durmanas. A remarkable agreement is here shewn by the Greek, in δυσμενής, ό, ή, opposed to τὸ δυσμενές. The स s of दुनेनास durmands, however, belongs, though unrecognised, to the base; and the nominative character is wanting, according to §. 94. In Greek, on the other hand, the ς of δυσμενής has the appearance of an inflexion, because the genitive, &c., is not δυσμενέσ-ος, like the Sanscrit दुनेनसस् durmanas-as, but δυσμενέος. If, however, what was said at §. 128 is admitted, that the s of µévos belongs to the base, and µéveos is abbreviated from μένεσ-ος, then in the compound δυσμενής also, and all similar adjectives a Σ belonging to the base must be recognised, and the form δυσμενέσος must lie at the bottom of the genitive δυσμενέος. In the nominative, therefore,

either the ; belongs to the base, and then the agreement with दुनेनास durmanas would be complete; or the s of the base has been dropped before the case-sign s. The latter is, in my opinion, least probable; for the former is supported by the Latin also, where the forms which answer to the Sanscrit as stems are in the nom. masc. and fem. in like manner Thus the Sanscrit comparative without the case-sign. suffix is ईयस् iyas—the last a but one of which is lengthened in the strong cases, and invested with a dull nasal (Anusvâra, §. 9.)—in Latin, $i\bar{o}r$, with the s changed into r, which so frequently happens; and the nominative in both genders is without the case-sign: the originally long o, however, is shortened by the influence of the final r. In the neuter $\tilde{u}s$ corresponds to the Sanscrit wa as, because u is favourable to a final s and prevents its transition into r; hence gravius has the same relation to the Sanscrit गरीयस gariyas (irregular from गुरु guru, "heavy,") as lupus to वृद्धस् vrikas, only that the s of the nominative character in the latter belongs in the former to the base. The final syllable $\check{o}r$, though short, must nevertheless be held, in Latin, as graver than us, and hence gravior forms a similar antithesis to gravius that in Greek δυσμενής does to δυσμενές, and in Sanscrit दुमेनास् durmanas to दुमेनस् durmanas.

147. In Lithuanian a nominative, which stands quite isolated, $m\dot{e}n\ddot{u}$ (= $m\dot{e}nuo$), "moon" and "month," deserves here to be mentioned: it proceeds from the primary form MENES*, and, in regard to the suppression of the final consonant and the transformation of the preceding vowel, has the same relation to it that, as above (§. 139.), $akm\ddot{u}$ has

^{*} The relation of this to HIH mas, which signifies the same—from HIH mas, "to measure," without derivative suffix—is remarkable; for the interposed nasal syllable ne answers to the Sanscrit H na in roots of the seventh class (see p. 118); and in this respect MENES bears the same relation to the Latin MENSI that l. c. [AIHH bhinadmi does to findo.

to AKMEN, sessů to SESSER: in the oblique cases, also, the s of the base again re-appears, but receives, as in the er and en bases, an unorganic increase: thus the genitive is menesio, whence MENESIA is the theme; as wilko, lupi, from WILKA, nom. wilka-s.

148. In neuters, throughout the whole Sanscrit family of languages the nominative is identical with the accusative, which subject is treated of at §. 152, &c. We here give a general view of the nominative formation, and select for the several terminations and gender of the primary forms, both for these cases and for all others which suit our purpose, the following examples: Sanscrit que vrika, m. "wolf;" a ka, "who;" दान dana, n. "gift;" त ta, n. "this;" जिहा jihva, f. "tongue;" का kā, "which;" पति pati, m. "lord," "husband;" प्रोति priti, f. "love;" वारि vari, n. "water;" भविष्यनी bhavishyanti, "who is about to be;" सूनु sûnu, m. "son;" तनु tanu, f. "body;" मभु madhu, n. "honey," "wine;" वधू vadhú, f. "wife;" मो gô, m. f. "bullock," "cow;" नौ nâu, f. "ship." Of the consonant declension we select only such final consonants as occur most frequently, whether in single words or in entire classes of words: वाच् vach, f. "speech" *; भारत bharant, in the weakened form, भारत bharat (§. 129.) m. n, "bearing," "receiving," from খ bhar (খু bhri) cl. l.; चालन âtman, m. "soul;" नामन् nâman, n. "name;" भातर् bhråtar, m. "brother;" दुहितर् duhitar, f. "daughter;" दातर् dåtar, m. "giver;" वयस vachas, n. "speech:" Greek, 'EUES, έπος (§§. 14. 128.), for FEΠΕΣ, Feπoς. Zend, υρλυείς věhrka, ta n. "this;" שענע hizva, f. "tongue;" שע ka, "which;"

^{*} Masculines and feminines in the consonant declension agree in all cases: hence an example of one of the two genders is sufficient. The only exception is the accusative plural of words denoting relationship in ar (\$\frac{1}{2}\$, \$\frac{5}{2}\$. 144.), which form this case from the abbreviated theme in \$\frac{1}{2}\$.

^{*} It has been remarked at §. 123 of the kindred nom. عبدع عقم, "earth," accus. & saim, that I have only met with these two cases. The very common form GES sem, which is found only in the other oblique cases, is nevertheless represented by Burnouf, in a very interesting article in the Journal des Savans (Aug. 1832), which I only met with after that page had been printed, as belonging to the same theme. I agree with him on this point at present, so much the rather as I believe I can account for the relationship of x & & zemé, "terræ," (dat.) s & & S zemi, "in terra," &c. to the Sanscrit ne gave, nee gavi. I do not doubt, that is to say, that, in accordance with what has been remarked at §. 63. and p. 114, the Zend G m is to be regarded as nothing else than the hardening of the original v. The Indian $\mathfrak{M} g\hat{o}$, before vowel terminations gav, would consequently have made itself almost unintelligible in the meaning "earth," in Zend, by a double alteration; once by the transition of g to z, in which j must be assumed as the middle step—in which e.g. קאצ jam, "to go," from און gam, has remained; secondly, by the hardening of the v to m. Advert, also, to the Greek $\delta \eta$, for $\gamma \eta$, in $\delta \eta \mu \dot{\eta} \tau \eta \rho$; since δ and ζz , from $\forall j \ (=dsch)$, have so divided themselves in the sound whence they have sprung, that the Greek has retained the T sound, the Zend the sibilant.

T cannot quote the nominative of this word; but it can only be with vac-s, as palatines before we change into we; and thus, from with druc-s. I have scarcely any doubt, too, that what Anquetil, in his Vocabulary, writes vahksch, and renders by "parler, cri," is the nominative of the said base; as Anquetil everywhere denotes we by kh, and we by sch.

[‡] In the theme we drop, intentionally, the ξ ε required by §. 44, as it is clear that λιριμίς brâtar, not ελιριμίς brâtarε, must be the base word; λιριμίς baratar also occurs, with μ a interposed.

m. "brother;" אני מער לענט אל dughdhar, f. "daughter;" לענט אל datar, m. "giver," "creator;" לענטעל vachat, n. (§. 56^b.) "word." It is not requisite to give here examples in Greek and Latin: from Lithuanian and Gothic we select the bases, Lith. WILKA, Goth. VULFA, m. "wolf;" Lith. KA, Goth. HVA, m. "who;" Lith. GERA, n. "good;" TA, n. "the;" Goth. DAURA, n. "gate," (Sanscrit, an dvara, n.), THA, n. "this;" Lith. RANKA, f. "hand;" Goth. GIBO, f. "gift" (§. 69.); HVO, f. "which?" Lith. PATI, m. "Lord"*; Goth. GASTI, m. "stranger;" I, m. "he," n. "it;" Lith. AWI, f. "sheep," (Sansc. wf avi, m. cf. ovis, õiç); Goth. ANSTI, f. "mercy;" Lith. Goth. SUNU, m. "son;" Goth. HANDU, f. "hand;" Lith. DARKU, n. "ugly;" Goth. FAIHU, n. "beast;" Lith. SUKANT, m.† "turning;" Goth. FIJAND, m. "foe;" Lith. AKMEN, m. "stone;" Goth. AHMAN, m. "spirit; NAMAN, n. "name;" BROTHAR, m. "brother;" DAUHTAR, Lith. DUKTER, f. "daughter." LITHUAN. GREEK. BANSORIT. LATIN.

BANSCRIT. ZEND. GREEK. LATIN. LITHUAN. GOTHIC. m. vrika-s, $v\'ehrk\^o$,* $\lambda \'u ko$ -s, lupu-s, vilka-s, vulf's. m. ka-s, ko,* \dots ka-s, hva-s.

^{*} In the comp. wiess-pati-s, "landlord"; isolated pat-s, "husband," with i in the nominative suppressed, as is the case in Gothic in all bases in i. Compare the Zend specification, "lord of the region."

[†] These and other bases ending with a consonant are given only in those cases which have remained free from a subsequent vowel addition.

[‡] Before the enclitic particle cha, as well here as in all other forms, the termination as, which otherwise becomes δ (§. 56°), retains the same form, which, in Sanscrit also, we as assumes before which the ence is said which, in Sanscrit also, we as assumes before which there is said which the appended cha preserves the otherwise shortened final vowel in its original length: hence which is jihracha, "linguaque," which is bratacha, "futuraque," which is bratacha, "fraterque." Even without the we at times the original length of the final vowel is found undiminished: the principle of abbreviation, however, remains adequately proved, and I therefore observe it everywhere in the terminations.

| | SANSCRIT. | ZEND. | GREEK. | LATIN. | LITHUAN. | GOTHIC. |
|------|---------------|---------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| n. | dåna-m, | dâlĕ-m, | δῶρο-ν, | donu-m, | géra, | daur'. |
| n. | ta-t, | ta-t, | τό , | is-tu-d, | ta-i, | tha-ta. |
| f. | jihvā. | hizva,* | χώρα, | terra, | rankà, | giba. |
| f. | kå, | kā, | • • • | • • • • | • • • • | hvô. |
| m. | pati-s, | paili-s, | πόσι-ς, | hosti-s, | pati-s, | gast`-s. |
| m. | • • • • | • • • • | • • • • | i-8, | • • • • | i-s. |
| f. | priti-s, | âfriti-s, | πόρτι-ς, | siti-s, | awi-s | anst'-s. |
| n. | våri, | vairi, | ἴδρι , | mare, | • • • • | • • • |
| n. | • • • • | • • • • | | i-d, | • • • | i-ta. |
| f. | bhavishyantî, | bûshyainti,* | • • • • | • • • • | búsenti, | • • • • |
| m. | sûnu-s, | pašu-s, | ἰχθύ-ς, | pecu-s, | sunù-s, | 8unu-8. |
| f. | tanu-s, | tanu-s, | πίτυ-ς, | 80cru-8, | • • • • | handu-s. |
| n. | madhu, | madhu, | μέθυ, | pecu, | darkù, | fai hu . |
| f. | vadhû-s, | • • • • | • • • • | • • • • | • • • • | • • • |
| m.f. | gāu-s,† | gaû-s, [‡] | βοῦ-ς, | <i>bō</i> − s , | • • • • | • • • • |
| f. | nāu-s, | • • • • | ναῦ-ς, | • • • • | • • • • | • • • • |
| f. | vāk, | vác-s, | ŏπ-ς, | voc-s, | • • • • | • • • • |
| m. | bharan, | baran-s, | $φ \acute{\epsilon} ρ ων,$ | feren-s, | sukan-s, | fijand-s. |
| m. | åtmå', | ašma,* | δαίμων, | sermo', | akmů, | ahma`. |
| n. | nâma', | nâma', | τάλαν, | nomen, | | $nam\delta$. |
| m. | bhråtå', | brātā',* | πατήρ, | frater, | • • • • | brôthar. |
| f. | duhita', | dughdha,* | θυγάτηρ, | mater, | d uktė, ' | dauhtar. |
| m. | dåtå, | dâta',* | δοτήρ, | | • • • • | • • • • |
| n. | vachas, | vachô,* | έπος, | opus, | • • • • | |

ACCUSATIVE.

SINGULAR.

149. The character of the accusative is m in Sanscrit, Zend, and Latin; in Greek ν , for the sake of euphony. In Lithuanian the old m has become still more weakened to

^{*} See the marginal note marked (*) on the foregoing page.

[†] Irregularly for गोस् 90-8.

[‡] Or wemb agos, §. 33.

the dull re-echoing nasal, which in Sanscrit is called Anusvâra, and which we, in both languages, express by n (§. 10.). The German languages have, so early as the Gothic even, lost the accusative mark in substantives entirely, but in pronouns of the 3d person, as also in adjective-bases ending with a vowel which follow their declension, they have hitherto retained it; still only in the masculine: the feminine nowhere exhibits an accusative character, and is, like its nominative, devoid of inflection. The Gothic gives na instead of the old m; the High German, with more correctness, a simple n: hence, Gothic blind-na, "cacum," Old High German plinta-n, Middle and Modern High German blinde-n.

150. Primary forms terminating with a consonant prefix to the case-sign m a short vowel, as otherwise the combination would be, in most cases, impossible: thus, in Sanscrit am, in Zend and Latin $\check{e}m$, appears as the accusative termination*: of the Greek $\alpha\nu$, which must originally have existed, the ν is, in the present condition of the language, lost: examples in §. 157.

151. Monosyllabic words in \hat{i} , \hat{u} , and $\hat{a}u$, in Sanscrit, like consonant-bases, give am in place of the mere m, as the accusative termination, probably in order in this way to become polysyllabic. Thus, $\sqrt{1}bh\hat{i}$, "fear," and $\sqrt{1}n\hat{a}u$, "ship," not $bh\hat{i}$ -m and $n\hat{a}u$ -m, as the Greek $v\hat{a}v$ -v would lead

^{*} From the bases y) ?4 druj and pand vach, I find besides & graph drujem, & grand vachem, in the V. S.; also frequently & sy ?4 drujem, & some vachem: and if these forms are genuine, which I scarcely doubt, they are to be thus explained—that the vowel which stands before m is only a means of conjunction for appending the m; for this purpose, however, the Zend uses, besides the & mentioned at §. 30, not unfrequently si; e.g. for some datemaki, occurs also some dadimaki, and many similar forms; as some view with an about some view of same views (in the Vêdas synthetismasi), "we will."

us to expect, but भियम् bhiy-am, नावम् nav-am. With this agree the Greek themes in $\epsilon \nu$, since these give ϵ - α , from ϵF - α , for ϵv - ν ; ϵ . g. $\beta \alpha \sigma \iota \lambda \dot{\epsilon}(F) \alpha$, for $\beta \alpha \sigma \iota \lambda \dot{\epsilon} v$ - ν . It is, however, wrong to regard the Latin em as the true, originally sole accusative termination, and for lupu-m, hora-m, fruc-tum, diem, to seek out an older form lupo-em hora-em, fructu-em, That the simple nasal suffices to characterize the accusative, and that a precursory vowel was only added out of other necessary reasons, is proved by the history of our entire family of languages, and would be adequately established, without Sanscrit and Zend, by the Greek, Lithuanian, and Gothic. The Latin em in the accusative third declension is of a double kind: in one case the e belongs to the base, and stands, as in innumerable cases, for i; so that e-m, of igne-m (Sanscrit जिन्म agni-m), corresponds to the Indian i-m, Zend i-m, Greek i-v, Lithuanian i-n, Gothic i-na (from ina, "him"); but in the em of consonant bases the e answers to the Indian a, to which it corresponds in many other cases also.

152. The Sanscrit and Zend neuter bases in a, and those akin to them in Greek and Latin, as well as the two natural genders, give a nasal as the sign of the accusative, and introduce into the nominative also this character, which is less personal, less animated, and is hence appropriated to the accusative as well as to the nominative in the neuter: hence, Sans. אַערנעון śayana-m, Zend אָנענען Sans. אַערנעון אַ sayane-m, "a bed"; so in Latin and Greek, donu-m, δωρο-ν. All other bases, with but few exceptions, in Latin, remain in the nominative and accusative without any case character, and give the naked base, which in Latin, however, replaces a final i by the kindred e; thus, mare for mari corresponds to the Sanscrit वारि vari, "water": the Greek, like the Sanscrit and Zend, leaves the unchanged—idpi-s, idpi, as in Sanscrit जुनिस suchis, जुनि suchi. The following are examples of neuter u bases, which supply the place both

of nominative and accusative: in Sans. wy madhu, "honey," "wine," जञ्ज aéru, "tear," खादु svâdu, "sweet"; in Zend שלים שלים vohu, "wealth" (Sanscrit वसु vasu); in Greek μέθυ, δάκρυ, ήδύ; in Latin pecu, genu. The length of this u is unorganic, and has probably passed into the nominative, accusative, and vocative from the oblique cases, where the length is to be explained from the suppressed case terminations. With regard to the fact that final u is always long in Latin, there is perhaps a reason always at hand for this length: in the ablative, for example, the length of the originally short u is explicable as a compensation for the case sign which has been dropped, by which, too, the \check{o} of the second declension becomes long. The original shortness of the u of the fourth declension is perceivable from the dat. pl. ŭ-bus. The Σ, in Greek words like γένος, μένος, εὐγενές, has been already explained at §. 128. as belonging to the base: the same is the case with the Latin s in neuters like genus, corpus, gravius: it is the other form of the r of the oblique cases, like gener-is, corpor-is, gravior-is (see §. 127.); and corpus appears akin to the Sanscrit neuter of the same meaning, वपुस vapus, gen. वपुषस vapu-sh-as (see §. 19.), and would consequently have an r too much, or the Sanscrit has lost one.* The Σ also of neuter bases in T, in $\tau \epsilon \tau \nu \phi \delta \varsigma$, τέρας, does not seem to me to be the case sign, but an exchange with T, which is not admissible at the end, but is either rejected ($\mu \epsilon \lambda \iota$, $\pi \rho \hat{\alpha} \gamma \mu \alpha$) or exchanged for a kindred Σ , as πρός from προτί, Sanscrit usa prati. In Latin it is to

^{*} Compare, in this respect, brachium, βραχίων, with Ψηξη δάλυ-ε, "arm"; frango, ρήγνυμι, with κατω bhanajmi, "I break," κενητη bhanajmas, "we break."

[†] With this view, which I have already developed in my treatise "On some Demonstrative Bases, and their connection with various Prepositions and Conjunctions" (Berlin, by Dümmler), pp. 4—6, corresponds, as to the essential points, what Hartung has since said on this subject

be regarded as inconsistent with the spirit of the language, that most adjective bases ending with a consonant retain the nominative sign s of the two natural genders in the neuter, and in this gender extend it also to the accusative, as if it belonged to the base, as capx-s, felic-s, soler(t)s, aman(t)s. In general, in Latin, in consonant bases, the perception of the distinction of gender is very much blunted, as, contrary to the principle followed by the Sanscrit, Zend, Greek, and Gothic, the feminine is no longer distinguished from the masculine.

line, the case sign m is wanting, and hence neuter bases in a stand on the same footing with the i, u, and consonant bases of the kindred languages, in that, in the nominative and accusative, they are devoid of all inflection. Compare, with regard to the form of this case, daur(a) with gauge dvdram, which has the same meaning. In Gothic there are no neuter substantives in i; on the other hand, the substantive bases in ga, by suppression of the a in the nominative and accusative singular (cf. §. 135.), gain in these cases the semblance of i bases; e.g. from the base REIKYA, "rich" (Sanscrit gauge rajya, likewise neuter), comes, in the cases mentioned, reiki, answering to the Sanscrit gauge rajya-m. The want of neuter i bases in German

is the less surprising, that in the kindred Sanscrit, Zend, and Greek, the corresponding termination in the neuter is Of neuter u roots the substantive denot very common. clension has preserved only the single FAIHU, "beast." In Lithuanian the neuter in substantives is entirely lost, and has left traces only in pronouns and adjectives, where the latter relate to pronouns. Adjective bases in u, in this case, have their nominative and accusative singular in accordance with the kindred languages, without case sign; e.g. darkù, "ugly," corresponds as nominative and accusative neuter to the masculine nominative darkù-s, accusative This analogy, however, is followed in Lithuanian by the adjective bases in a also; and thus géra, "good," corresponds as nominative and accusative to the masculine forms géra-s, géra-n,* which are provided with the sign of the case.

154. It is a question whether the m, as the sign of the nominative and accusative neuter (it is excluded from the vocative in Sanscrit and Zend), was originally limited simply to the a bases, and was not joined to the i and

^{*} The e of neuter forms like dide, "great," from the stem DIDJA nom. masc. didi-s for didya-s, as §. 135. yaunikkis, "youngling"—I explain through the euphonic influence of the suppressed y. As also the feminine originally long a is changed into e by the same influence, so is the nominative and accusative neuter in such words identical with the nominative feminine, which is likewise, according to §. 137, devoid of inflection; and dide therefore signifies also "magna," and answers, as feminine, very remarkably to the Zend nominatives explained at §. 137., as nyc/co pěrěnê, κιρηθική brâturyê. In this sense are to be regarded, also, the feminine substantives in Ruhig's third declension, as far as they terminate in the nominative in e, as giesme, "song." As no masculine forms in is correspond to them, the discovery of the true nature of these words becomes more difficult; for the lost y or i has been preserved only in the genitive plural, where giesmy-û is to be taken like rank-û from rankâ, i.e. the final vowel of the bases is suppressed before the termination, or has been melted down with it.

u bases also; so that, in Sanscrit, for vari we had originally vari-m, for madhu, madhu-m? I should not wish to deny the original existence of such forms; for why should the a bases alone have felt the necessity of not leaving the nominative and accusative neuter without a sign of relation or of personality? It is more probable that the a bases adhered only the more firmly to the termination once assumed, because they are by far the most numerous, and could thus present a stronger opposition to the destructive influence of time by means of the greater force of their analogies; in the same manner as the verb substantive, in like manner, on account of its frequent use, has allowed the old inflection to pass less into oblivion, and in German has continued to our time several of the progeny of the oldest period; as, for instance, the nasal, as characteristic of the 1st person in bi-n, Old High German pi-m, Sans. भवामि bhava-mi. In Sanscrit, one example of an m as the nominative and accusative sign of an i base is not wanting, although it stands quite isolated; and indeed this form occurs in the pronominal declension, which everywhere remains longest true to the traditions of bygone ages. I mean the interrogative form fam, "what"? from the stem fa ki, which may perhaps, in Sanscrit, have produced a ki-t, which is contained in the Latin qui-d, and which I recognise again, also, in the enclitic fan chit, weakened from fan ki-t. Otherwise i or u bases of pronouns in the nominative accusative neuter do not occur; for un amu, "that" (man), substitutes were adas; and z i, "this," combines with दम् dam (इदम् idam, "this"). Concerning the original procedure of consonant bases in the nominative and accusative neuters no explanation is afforded by the pronominal declension, as all primary forms of pronouns terminate in vowels, and, indeed, for the most part, in a.

155. Pronominal bases in a in Sanscrit give t, in Zend t, as the inflection of the nominative and accusative neuter. The

Gothic gives, as in the accusative masculine, na for m or n, here ta for simple t; and transfers these, like other peculiarities of the pronominal declension, like the other German dialects, also to the adjective a bases; e.g. blinda-ta, "cæcum," midya-ta, "medium." The High German gives, in the older period, z instead of the Gothic t (§. 87.), in the most modern period, s. The pronominal base I(later E)follows in German, as in Latin, the analogy of the old a bases, and the Latin gives, as in the old ablative, d instead of t. The Greek must abandon all T sounds at the end of words: the difference of the pronominal from the common o declension consists, therefore, in this respect, merely in the absence of all inflection. From this difference, however, and the testimony of the kindred languages, it is perceived that $\tau \delta$ was originally sounded $\tau \sigma \tau$ or $\tau \sigma \delta$, for a $\tau \sigma \nu$ would have remained unaltered, as in the masculine accusative. Perhaps we have a remnant of a neuter-inflection τ in $\delta \tau \tau \iota$, so that we ought to divide $\delta \tau - \tau \iota$; and therefore the double τ , in this form, would have a mere metrical foundation, as little as the double σ in $\delta \rho \epsilon \sigma - \sigma \iota$ (§. 128.). (Buttmann, p. 85.)

156. We find the origin of the neuter case-sign t in the pronominal stem π ta, "he," "this," (Greek TO, Goth. THA, &c.); and a convincing proof of the correctness of this explanation is this, that $\pi\pi$ ta-t "it," "this," stands, in regard to the base, in the same contrast with π sa, "he," π sa, "she," as t, as the neuter case-sign, does to the nominative s of masculine and feminine nouns (§. 134.) The m of the accusative also is, I doubt not, of pronominal origin; and it is remarkable that the compound pronouns i-ma, "this," and a-mu, "that," occur just as little as ta in the nominative masculine and feminine; but the Sanscrit substitutes for the base amu, in the nominative masculine and feminine singular the form asau, the s of which, therefore, stands in the same relation to the m of $\pi g \pi$ amu-m, "illum," $\pi g \pi$ amu-g, "illius," and other oblique cases, as, among

the case-terminations, the sign of the masculine feminine nominative to the m of the accusative and neuter nomina-Moreover, in Zend is used puts imat, "this," (n.) tive. (nom. accus.), but not imô, "this" (m.), but אמש aêm (from भयम् ayam), and ६३ îm (from इयम् iyam), "this" (f.). Observe in Greek the pronominal base MI, which occurs only in the accusative, and, in regard of its vowel, has the same relation to म ma (in the compounded base इस i-ma) that विम ki-m "what?" has to to ka-s "who?" The Gothic neut. termination ta answers, in respect to the transposition of sound (§. 87.), to the Latin d (id, istud): this Latin d, however, seems to me a descent from the older t; as e.g. the b of ab has proceeded from the p of the kindred wa apa, άπό; and in Zend the d of ξε μω a-dem, "him," is clearly only a weakening of the t of π ta, we ta.

157. To the Sanscrit ta-t, mentioned above, Zend ta-t, Greek $\tau \acute{o}$, &c., corresponds a Lithuanian tui, "the," as the nominative and accusative singular. I do not believe, however, that the i which is here incorporated in the base TA

^{*} See my treatise "On the Origin of the Cases" in the Trans. of the Berlin Academy for the year 1826. As T in Greek easily becomes Σ (but a final Σ has in many parts of Grammar become ν), Hartung founds on this, in the pamphlet before mentioned, p. 154, the acute conjecture of an original identity of neuters in ν (m) with those in t. We cannot, however, agree with him in this, because the m, on account of the origin which we ascribe to this case-sign is as little surprising in the nominative of the neuter as in the accusative of the more animated genders; and besides, a greater antiquity is proved to belong to the neuter m, through the Sanscrit and Zend, than probably the v sounds can boast, which, in Greek, stand for an older Σ , as $\mu \in \nu$ for $\mu \in \Gamma$ (where Γ and Γ are Γ and Γ are Γ are Γ and Γ are Γ and Γ are Γ and Γ are Γ are Γ are Γ are Γ are Γ and Γ are Γ are Tov for पस् thas, तस् tas. What is wanting in the Greek, viz. a neuter inflection s, appears, however, to be possessed by the Sanscrit; and I am inclined to divide the form wet adas, "that" (nom. accus.) into a-da-s, and to explain it as a corruption of a-da-t (cf. Gramm. Crit. Addend. to r. 299.); but to regard the syllable da as weakened from ta, as in the Zend قدوع â-dě-m, "him." We shall recur to this when treating of the pronouns.

is any way connected with the neuter t, d, of the kindred languages: I should rather turn to a relationship with the i demonstrative in the Greek ($o\dot{v}\tau \sigma \sigma i$, $\dot{e}\kappa e v \sigma \sigma i$), and to the t t, which is, in like manner, used enclitically in the Vêdas—a petrified neuter, which is no longer conscious of any gender or case; and hence, in several cases, combining with masculine pronouns of the third person.* This t t, is consequently the sister form of the Latin id and Gothic i-ta, which, in the Greek $\dot{e}\kappa e v \sigma \sigma i$, has, perhaps only from necessity, dropped the τ or δ , and which already, ere I was acquainted with the Vêda-dialect, I represented as a consistent part of the conjunctions $\dot{\tau}_{t}$ $ch\hat{e}t$ (from cha + it), "if," and $\dot{\tau}_{t}$ $n\hat{e}t$ (na + it)

The words mentioned at §. 148. form in the accusative:

| 8. | ANSCRIT. | ZEND. | GREŁK. | LATIN. | LITHUAN. | GOTHIC. |
|----|----------|-----------|---------|----------|-----------|---------|
| m. | vrika-m, | věhrkě-m, | λύκο-ν, | lupu-m, | wilka-n, | vulf. |
| m. | ka-m, | kĕ-m, | | • • • • | ka-n, | hwa-na. |
| n. | dâna-m, | dátě-m, | δῶρο-ν, | donu-m, | géra, | daur'. |
| n. | ta-t, | ta-t, | τó, | is-tu-d, | ta-i, | tha-ta. |
| f. | jihvå-m, | hizva-nm, | χώρα-ν, | terra-m, | ranka-'n, | giba. |
| f. | kå-m, | ka-nm, | • • • • | • • • • | | hvô.† |

^{*} Examples are given by Rosen in his Veda Specimen, pp. 24, 25, which, though short, are in the highest degree interesting for Sanscrit and comparative Grammar; as, सद्दा sait, "he," तीनत् tamit, "him"; त्योदित् tayôrit, "of these two"; तस्माद्दत् tasmāīt, "to him"; सरमाद्दत् asmāīt, "to this" (m.). The Zend combines in the same way no or si with the interrogative: אונה אונה kašt and אונה kaši, "who?" occur frequently. Perhaps only one of the two modes of writing is correct. Cf. Gramm. Crit. Addend. to r. 270.

^{*} One would expect $hv\hat{o}$ -na, or, with abbreviation of the base, hva-na, which would be the same as the masculine. With regard to the lost case-termination, it may be observed, that, in general, the feminines are less constant in handing down the old inflexions. A charge which is incurred by the Sanscrit in the nominative, since it gives $k\hat{a}$ for $k\hat{a}$ -s (§. 137.), is incurred by the Gothic (for in this manner the corruption spreads) in the accusative also.

| | BANSCRIT. | ZEND. | GREEK. | LATIN. | LITHUAN. | GOTHIC. |
|------|----------------|---------------|----------|----------|------------------|---------|
| m. | pati-m, | paiti-m, | πόσι-ν, | hoste-m, | páti-n, | gast`. |
| m. | • • • • | • • • • | • • • • | | • • • • | i-na. |
| f. | prîti-m, | Afrilî-m, | πόρτι-ν, | siti-m, | áwi-n, | ansi'. |
| n. | vári, | vairi, | ίδρι, | mare, | • • • • | • • • • |
| n. | • • • • | • • • • | • • • • | i-d, | • • • • | i-ta. |
| f. | bhavishyantim, | bûshyaintî-m, | • • • • | • • • • | ** | • • • • |
| m. | sûnu-m, | pašû-m, | ἰχθύ-ν, | pecu-m, | $sunu-\dot{n}$, | sunu. |
| f. | tanu-m, | tanû-m, | πίτυ-ν, | socru-m, | • • • • | handu. |
| n. | madhu, | madhu, | μέθυ, | pecu, | darkù, | faihu. |
| f. | vadhû-m, | • • • • | • • • • | • • • • | • • • • | • • • • |
| m.f. | . ga-m †, | ga-im†, | βοῦ-ν, | bov-em, | • • • • | • • • • |
| f. | nåv-am, | • • • • | ναῦ-ν, | • • • • | • • • • | • • • • |
| f. | vách-am, | vách-ĕm, | όπ-α, | voc-em, | • • • • | • • • • |

^{*} The feminine participial bases in i, mentioned at §. 119, remain free from foreign commixture only in the nominative and vocative singular: in all other cases, to the old i is further added a more modern a; and the declension then follows RANKA exactly; only that in some cases, through the euphonic influence of the i, and in analogy with the Zend and the Latin fifth declension (§. 137.), the added a becomes, or may become, e: in the latter case the i is suppressed, as l.c. برهداره kaine for kainye (§. 42.). Thus, from sukanti, "the turning" (f.), sukusi, "the having turned" (f.), and suksenti, "the about to turn," Mielcke gives the accusatives sukanczeń (see p. 138, Rem.) or sukancziań, sukuseń, and suksenczeń or suksenczian. And even if, according to Ruhig (by Mielcke, pp. 3, 4), the i before a, e, o, u is scarcely heard, it must not therefore in this case, as well as in those there enumerated, be the less regarded as etymologically present, and it was originally pronounced so as to be fully audible. From the feminine, where the i, as Sanscrit grammar shews, has an original position, this vowel appears to have made its way, in Lithuanian participial bases, into the oblique cases of the masculine, and to be here invested with a short masculine a. The accusative sukanti- \dot{n} , "the turning" (m), is therefore to be regarded in the same light as yaunikki-n, from the theme YAUNIKJA, i.e. it stands for sukantyi-n from sukantya-n, and hence and to the Gothic, like hari from the base HARYA (§. 135.).

[†] See §. 122.

| | SANSORIT. | ZEND. | GREEK. | LATIN. | LITHUAN. | GOTHIC. |
|----|-------------|--------------|------------|------------|----------|----------|
| m. | bharant-am, | barënt-ëm, | φέροντ-α, | ferent-em, | | fijand. |
| m. | åtmån-am, | ašman-ĕm, | δαίμον-α, | sermon-em | , | ahman. |
| n. | nâma', | nâma' | τάλαν, | nomen, | • • • • | namo. |
| m. | bhråtar-am, | brâtar-ĕm, | πατέρ-α, | fratr-em, | • • • • | bröthar. |
| f. | duhitar-am, | dughdhar-ĕm, | θυγατέρ-α, | matr-em, | | dauhtar. |
| m. | dâiâr-am, | dâtîr-ĕm, | δοτῆρ-α, | datōr-em, | | |
| n. | vachas, | vachô,* | ἔπος, | opus, | | • • • • |

INSTRUMENTAL, DATIVE.

158. The instrumental is denoted in Sanscrit by an a; and this inflexion is, in my opinion, a lengthening of the pronominal base wa, and identical with the preposition wa a, "to," "towards," "up to," which springs from this pronoun, and appears only as a prefix. The Zend & appears still more in its pronominal nature in the compound mentioned at §. 156. Rem., وهو على d-dem, "him," "this," (m.) fem. אפשא d-daim. As a case-sign, w d generally appears abbreviated (see p. 163. Rem.), even where this termination has been melted into one with a preceding u a of the base; so that in this case the primary form and the instrumental are completely similar; e.g. μχυψως zaθsha, "voluntarily," μχυψωζω azaðsha, "involuntarily," (V. S. p. 12.) אר אין אין אין skyabthna, "actione," often occur; און ana, "through this" (m.), ארבאלב paiti-bĕrĕta, "allevato." † The long & appears in the instrumental only in monosyllabic bases in λ a; thus λ bases in λ a; thus λ bases in λ a; thus λ bases in λ bases in λ bases in λ a; thus λ bases in λ bases in λ a; thus λ bases in λ bases in the base we kha (Sanscrit es sva, §. 35.). In Sanscrit a euphonic न n is added to bases ending with short vowels

^{*} See §. 56 b.

[†] Cf. Gramm. Crit. r. 638. Rem. This interesting instrumental form was not known by Rask when he published his work on the Zend, and it was not easy to discover it, on account of its discrepancy from the Sanscrit and the many other forms with final λa .

in the masc. and neut. genders; * a final wa, however, is, as in several other cases, changed into ve, and the wid of the case-suffix is shortened, as it appears to me, by the influence of this clog of the base; as वृद्धेन vrike-n-a, but चिनना agni-n-a, चारिणा vari-n-a, सूनुना sûnu-n-a, मधुना madhun-a, from ya vrika, &c. The Vêdas, however, exhibit further remains of formations without the euphonic n, as खत्रया svapnay-å for समेन svapné-n-a from सम svapna, m. "sleep" (see §. 133.); उह्या uru-y-å for उह्या uru-n-a, from उह uru, "great," with a euphonic y (§. 43.); y (§. 43.); y (§. 43.) प्रवाह prabahu, from वाह bahu, "arm," with the preposition प्र The Vêda-form समया svapnaya, finds analogies in the common dialect in नवा maya, "through me," and नवा tvaya, "through thee," from the bases ma and tva, the a of which in this case, as in the loc. passes into ê. And from win pati, m. "Lord," and afa sakhi, m. "friend," the common dialect forms instrumentals without the interposition of न n, viz. पत्मा paty-å, सस्पा sakhy-å. Feminines never admit a euphonic n; but d, as before some other vowel terminations, passes into ve, that is to say, i is blended with it, and it is shortened to $\mathbf{w} a$; hence, $\mathbf{fagu} jihvay - \hat{a}$ (from $jihv\hat{e} + \hat{a}$). The Zend follows in this the analogy of the Sanscrit.

159. As é in Gothic, according to §. 69., just like 6, represents III á, so the forms thé, hvé, which Grimm (pp. 790. and 798.) regards as instrumentals, from the demonstrative stem THA and the interrogative HVA, correspond very remarkably to the Zend instrumentals, as we khá from the base we kha. We must, however, place also své in the class of genuine Zend instrumental forms, which have been correctly preserved: besides své from SVA is also,

^{*} The original has "Stämmen gen. masc. und fem.;" but genitives of nouns in a do not take a euphonic n, nor do feminine nouns ending in short vowels use such an augment in the instrumental: here is no doubt some typographic error.—Editor.

in respect of its base, akin to myo khá from kha (§. 35.).* The meaning of své is "as" ($\dot{\omega}_{S}$), and the sô, which has arisen in High German from sva or své, means both "as" and "so," &c. The case relations, however, which are expressed by "as" and "so" are genuine instrumentals.[†] The Anglo-Saxon form for své is svá, in which the colouring of the Zend myo khá is most truly preserved. The Gothic sva "so" is, according to its form, only the abbreviation of své, as a is the short equivalent both of é and of δ : through this abbreviation, however, sva has become identical with its theme, just as my ana in Zend is, according to §. 158., not distinguished from its theme.

very frequently expresses the instrumental relation, and the termination also of the dative is identical with the Sanscrit-Zend instrumental character, shortened only, as in polysyllabic words in Zend, it may be proper here to describe at the same time the formation of the German dative. In a bases it is in Gothic, as in Zend, identical with the theme, and from VULFA comes vulfa, as which the theme, and from VULFA comes vulfa, as which remarkable datives, which have preserved their due length, and answer to the monosyllabic instrumentals the, hee, see, which have been already explained, viz. hvamme-h, hvarjamme-h, "cuique," and ainumme-hun, "ulli," for ainamme-hun (§. 66.).† Bases in i reject this vowel before the case-

^{*} Grimm's conjectures regarding the forms sva and své (III. 43.) appear to me untenable; and an explanation of these forms, without the intervention of the Sanscrit and Zend, is impossible. More regarding this at the pronouns.

[†] If "as" is regarded as "through which means, in which manner or way," and "so" as "through this means, in this way," it is certain that among the genuine cases of the Sanscrit language there is none which would be adapted in the relative and demonstrative to express "as" and "so."

[†] Here the appended particle has preserved the original length of the termination, as is the case in Zend in all instrumentals, if they are combined with we cha, "and."

sign; hence gast'-a for gasti-a: on the other hand, in the u bases the termination is suppressed, and the base-vowel receives the Guna: hence sunau, which will have been pronounced originally su-nav-a; so that, after suppressing the termination, the v has again returned to its original vowel nature. The form sunav-a would answer to the Vêda form प्रवाहवा pra-bāhav-ā. In Zend, the bases which terminate with j i and j u, both in the instrumental and before most of the other vowel terminations, assume Guna or not at pleasure. Thus we find in the Vend. S. p. 469. אין אין bâzav-a, "brachio," as analogous to אין bâzav-a pra-bāhav-ā (§. 57.); on the other hand, p. 408., אנענט שניג אוי zanthwa from zantu, "the slaying," "killing." From ງງມຽວ panisnu, "dust," we find, l. c. p. 229., the form ງຸມຽວ panisnú, which Anquetil translates by "par cette poussiere"; and if the reading is correct, then panisnû, in regard of the suppressed termination (compensation for which is made by lengthening the base vowel), would answer to the Gothic sunau.

161. Bases ending with a consonant have lost, in German, the dative character: hence, in Gothic, fijand, ahmin, brôthr (§. 132.), for fijand-a, ahmin-a, brôthr-a.* All feminines, too, must be pronounced to have lost the dative sign, paradoxical as it may appear to assert that the Gothic gibai, "dono," and thizai, "huic," izai, "ei," do not contain any dative inflexion, while we formerly believed the ai of gibai to be connected with the Sanscrit feminine dative character ₹ âi. But as we have recognised in the masculine and neuter dative the Indo-Zend instrumental, we could not, except from the most urgent necessity,

^{*} The Old High German form fatere (for fatera), "patri," proceeds, as do the genitive fatere-s, and the accusative fatera-n, from a theme FATERA, extended by a. The accusative fatera-n, however, is remarkable, because substantives, so early as in the Gothic, have lost the accusative-sign, together with the final vowel of the base. In Old High German a few other substantives and proper names follow the analogy of FATERA.

betake ourselves to the Sanscrit dative for explanation of the Gothic feminine dative. This necessity, however, does not exist, for hveitai, "albae," from HVEITO from HVEITA, may be deduced from the instrumental wind śvetay-a, "alba," from win śveta, by suppressing the termination, and changing the semi-vowel to a vowel in the same manner as, above, sunau from sunav-a, or as the fem. handau, "manui," from handav-a. Analogous with sunau, handau, are also the dative feminine i bases; and, e.g. anstai, "gratiæ," has the same relation to its theme ANSTI that handau has HANDU.

162. In Old High German the forms diu, hviu, correspond to the Gothic instrumentals the, hve; but authorities differ as to the mode of writing them,* regarding which we shall say more under the pronouns. The form hiu, also, from a demonstrative base HI, has been preserved in the compound histu for his-tagu, "on this day," "to-day," (see Grimm, p. 794.) although the meaning is here properly locative. The Gothic has for it the dative himma-This termination u has maintained itself also in substantive and adjective bases masc. neut. in a and i, although it is only sparingly used, and principally after the preposition mit (see Graff, l. c. pp. 110, 111.); mit mortu, "with a word," from WORTA; mit cuatu, "with good," from CUATA; mit kastu, "with a guest," from KASTI. It is here important to remark, that the instrumental in Sanscrit very frequently expresses, per se, the sociative relation. We cannot, however, for this reason look upon this u case as generically different from the common dative, which, we have already remarked, is likewise of instrumental origin and meaning: we rather regard the u^{\dagger} as a corruption

^{*} With reference to their use with various prepositions we refer our readers to Graff's excellent treatise, "The Old High German Prepositions," p. 181, &c.

[†] Contrary to Grimm's opinion, I cannot let the instrumental u pass as $\frac{1}{2}$ long,

(although one of very ancient date) of u, just as in the neuter plural of pronouns and adjectives a & corresponds to the short a of the Gothic and the older kindred languages. In Lithuanian the a bases form their instrumental in ú, which is long, and in which the final vowel of the base has been melted down. That this ú, also, has arisen from a long a, and thus, e.g. diewú is akin to the Zend www. daeva, "deo," for www. daeva, appears to me the less doubtful; as also in the plural dievais answers very surprisingly to אַגאאישנאש datvais, देवेस devais. Moreover, in many other parts of grammar, also, the Lithuanian 6 corresponds to the Sanscrit T 4; e.g. in the plural genitive. In feminine a bases, also, in Lithuanian, the vowel of the base is melted down with that of the termination, but its quality is not changed; as, e.g. ranká, "manu," from RANKA. In all other bases mi stands as termination, to which the plural instrumental termination mis has the same relation as, in Latin, bis to bi (voBIS, tiBI); and, according to §. 63., I do not doubt that in both numbers the m has arisen from b.

163. The bases given in §. 148. form, in the instrumental and in the Gothic, in the dative;

| | SANSCRIT. | ZEND. | LITHUANIAN. | GOTHIC. |
|----|------------|-----------|-------------|----------|
| m. | vrikė-n-a, | věhrka, | wilkù, | vulfa. |
| f. | jihvay-å, | hizvay-a, | ranká, | gibai. |
| m. | paty-å, | paithy-a, | pati-mi, | gast'-a. |

long, even not to notice its derivation from a short a; for, first, it appears, according to Notker, in the pronominal forms diu, &c. without a circumflex (other instrumentals of the kind do not occur in his works); secondly, like the short a, it is exchanged for o (§.77.); hence, wio, wëo, with wiu, wio-lih, huëo-lih, "qualis" (properly, "similar to whom"); thirdly, the length of this u cannot be deduced from the Gothic forms the, hue, sue, because these, in all probability, owe the retention of their long vowel to their being monosyllabic (cf. §. 137.).

| | SANSCRIT. | ZEND. | LITHUANIAN. | GOTHIC. |
|------|-------------------|---------------------|-------------|---------|
| f. | prîty-â, | âfrít hy -a, | awi-mi, | anstai. |
| f. | bhavishyanty-å, | bûshyainty-a | , | • • • • |
| m. | sûnu-n-â, | pašv-a, | sunu-mi, | sunau. |
| f. | tanv-å, | tanv-a, | • • • • | handau. |
| f. | vadh v -å, | | • • • | • • • • |
| m.f. | . gav-å, | gav-a, | • • • • | |
| f. | nåv-å, | • • • | • • • • | |
| f. | vách-á, | våch-a, | | |
| m. ' | bharat-â, | barĕnt-a, | | fijand. |
| m. | åtma n -å, | asman-a, | • • • • | ahmin. |
| n. | nåmn-å, | ndman-a, | | namin. |
| m. | bhrátr-á, | b r ålhr-a, | | brôthr. |
| f. | duhitr-å, | dughdhĕr-a, | • • • • | dauhtr. |
| m. | dâtr-â, | dâthr-a, | • • • • | • • • • |
| n. | vachas-å, | vacanh-a, | | • • • • |

164. In Sanscrit and Zend, ℓ is the sign of the dative, which, I have scarce any doubt, originally belongs to the demonstrative base ℓ , whence the nom. Way ayam (from $\ell + am$), "this"; which, however, as it appears, is itself only an extension of the base \mathbf{w} a, from which arise most of the cases of this pronoun (a-smái, a-smát, a-smín, &c.); and regarding which it is to be observed, that the common a bases, also, in Sanscrit in many cases extend this vowel to ℓ by the admixture of an i (§. 2.). The dative sign consequently would, in its origin, be most intimately connected with the case, which, as (§. 160.) was explained, denotes, in German, both the dative and instrumental relation, and occurs in Zend also with a dative signification.*

We have here further to remark, that in the pronoun of the 2d person the affix भ्यम् bhyam (from bhi + am) in तुभ्यम् tu-bhyam, "to thee," stands in evident relationship to the instrumental भिन्न bhis in the plural. The feminine bases in a, i, i, and, at will also, those in i and u, prolong in Sanscrit the dative termination $\forall \ell$ to ∂di : with the final å of the base an i is blended; hence जिल्लाये jihvay-åi from jivai-ai. On the other hand, \(\xi \) and \(\xi \) receive the Guna augment before $\forall \ell$, but not before the broader ∂ai ; as सूनवे sûnav-ê from sûnu. In Zend, feminine a and î bases, like the Sanscrit, have di for their termination; not, however, as hizvay-ai, but نعدی«ندرنسد hizvay-ai, from the base hizva, as long vowels in the penultimate, in polysyllabic bases, are so frequently shortened. Bases in si have, in combination with the particle we cha, preserved the Sanscrit form most truly, and exhibit, without exception in this case, the form אננאמאט ay-aê-cha (see §. 28.), e.g. ມາຄາມງາກໂອນາໃນງ karstayaêcha, "and on account of the ploughing," "in order to plough" (Vend. S. p. 198), from karste. Without cha, however, the form no el is almost the sole one that occurs, e.g. κερελυω kharěleê, "in order to eat," from σος λυω kharěti. This form, I doubt not, has arisen from אנום ay-ê, by rejecting the semi-vowel, after which the preceding u a has become ξ e (§. 31.). like which sometimes afrite or epsilou afrite, which sometimes occur, and are most corrupted, may rest on errors in

word are, however, in this Codex, quite common. I entertain no doubt of the correctness of the length of the a, both of zā and nāi; and I anticipate a variety azīzanaitibis or —bīs. Probably also csaētô is to be read for csaitô. Anquetil translates: "O Hom, donnez à la femme, qui n'a pas encore engendré, beaucoup d'enfans brillans." We will return to this passage hereafter; and we will here further remark that, at the same page of the Vend. S., the instr. Activate also occurs in the sense of "to them."

writing.* Bases in u may take Guna; e.g. אשרים לעניש vanhu, "pure"; or not, as איל rathv-ê from אשרים 'ratu, "great," "lord." The form without Guna is the more common. A euphonic שון also is found interposed between the base and the termination (§. 43.), e.g. אשרין אונים tanu-y-ê, "corpori."

165. Bases in $\mathbf{w} a$ add to the case-sign ℓ also an $\mathbf{w} a$; but from $\forall \ell (=a+i)$ and a is formed $\forall u \ aya$; and this, with the a of the base, gives dya, thus gard vrikdya. Hence may have arisen, by suppressing the final a, the Zendian كَا يَا اللَّهُ věhrkái, after which the preceding semivowel must return to its vowel nature. It might, however, be assumed, that the Zend has never added an a to the dative é, and that this is a later appearance in Sanscrit, which arose after the division of languages; for from $a + \ell$ is formed, quite regularly, &i (§. 2.). The Sanscrit forms also, from the particle was sma, which is added to pronouns of the 3d person, the dative smai; and thus, e.g. The Sanscrit, in this case, abstains from adding kahmâi. the $\mathbf{w} a$, which is elsewhere appended to the dative $\mathbf{v} \mathbf{e}$; since **the sma**, already encumbered with the preceding principal pronoun, cannot admit any superfluity in its termination, and for this reason gives up its radical wa a before the termination $\xi \eta$ in the locative case also, and forms sm'-in for smen.

166. The particle **ma, mentioned in the preceding section, which introduces itself between the base and the termination, not only in the singular, but (and this, in fact, occurs in pronouns of the two first persons) in the plural also, if not separated from both—as I have first attempted to show

^{*} $\xi p + \lambda \omega$ $\hat{a}frite$ is undoubtedly incorrect: however, ξe is often found erroneously for x e in other forms also.

in my Sanscrit Grammar—gives to the pronominal declension the appearance of greater peculiarity than it in fact As this particle recurs also in the kindred European languages, and there, as I have already elsewhere partly shewn, solves several enigmas of declension, we will therefore here, at its first appearance, pursue all its modifications and corruptions, as far as it is possible. Zend, sma, according to §. 53., has been changed to hma; and also in Prakrit and Pali, in the plural of the two first persons, the s has become h, and besides, by transposition of the two consonants, the syllable hma has been altered to mha; e.g. Prakrit we amhé, we αμμες), Pali we ταμ amhākam, Zend ξεμωςω ahmākēm, ἡμῶν. From the Prakrit-Pali mha we arrive at the Gothic nsa in u-nsa-ra, ἡμῶν, u-nsi-s,* "nobis," "nos." In that the Gothic has left the sibilant unaltered, it stands on an older footing than the Pali and Prakrit; and on the other hand, by the change of m into n, for more facile combination with the following s, it rests on a more modern stage. We cannot, therefore, any longer assume the ns of uns, "nos," to be the common accusative termination, as we have formerly done in unison with Grimm †—cf. vulfa-ns, gasti-ns, sunu-ns —and thence allow it, as though it had become a property of the base, to enter into some other cases, and connect it with new case-terminations. To this is opposed, also, the 2d person, where izvis (i-zvi-s) stands in the accusative, and yet in essentials the two persons are identical in their declension; uns, "nobis," "nos," stands, therefore, for unsi-s (from unsa-s), and this has s as the case-suffix. and u-nsa(weakened from u-nsi) as the compound base. And we

^{*} The a being changed into i, according to r. 67.

[†] I. 813. "unsara appears to be derived from the accusative uns, as also the dative uns's, which, with izwis, preserves a parallel sound to the dative singular." Cf. I. 813. 34.

cannot, also, any longer regard the u of unsa-ra, "nostri," &c. as the vocalized v of veis, "we," although the i of izvara, "vestri," &c. can be nothing else than the vocalized v of vis, "your"; for in Sanscrit, also, the syllable vis vis, "your," (§. 43.) goes through all the oblique cases, while in the 1st person the vis of vis, "we," is limited to the nominative, but the oblique cases combine a base vis vis vis, with the particle vis, vis, then, in Gothic, through the influence of the following liquid, has become vis; hence, vis, vis, &c. for vis, vis, 66.).

167. As in Zend, the Sanscrit possessive es sva shews itself* in very different forms in juxta-position with different letters, so I believe I can point out the particle स्म sma in Gothic at least under four forms; namely, as nsa, zva, gka, and mma. The first has been already discussed; the second—zva, and in a weakened form zvi occurs in the pronoun of the 2d person, in the place where the 1st has nsa (nsi); and while in the kindred Asiatic languages (Sanscrit, Zend, Pali, Prakrit), as also in Greek and Lithuanian, the two pronouns run quite parallel in the plural, since they both exhibit the interposed particle under discussion, either in its original form, or similarly modified, in Gothic a discrepancy has arisen between the two persons, in that the syllable sma has in them been doubly transformed. The form zva from sma rests, first, on the not surprising change of the s into z (§. 86. 5.); secondly, on the very common change of m and v (§. 63.).

168. From the Gothic downwards, the particle sma has been still further corrupted in the German dialects, in the pronoun of the 2d person, by the expulsion of the sibilant. The Old High German i-wa-r has nearly the same relation to the Gothic i-zva-ra that the Homeric genitive $\tau \circ i \circ$ has

^{*} See Ann. of Lit. Crit. March 1831, p. 376, &c.

to the Sanscrit new tasya, which is older than the Homeric form. Compare, without intervention of the Gothic, the Old High German i-wa-r, i-u, i-wi-h, with the Sanscrit yu-shma-kam, yu-shma-byam, yu-shma-n, and with the Lithuanian yù-sû, yù-mus, yù-s: thus it would be regarded as settled, that the w or u belongs to the base, but is not the corrupted remainder of a far-extended intermediate pronoun; and it would be incorrect to divide in-ar, in-ih, iu, for i-wa-r, &c. I, too, formerly entertained that erroneous opinion. A repeated examination, and the enlarged views since then obtained through the Zend, Prakrit, and Pali, leave me thoroughly convinced, that the Gothic intermediate syllable zva has not been lost in High German, but that one portion of it has been preserved even to our time (e-ue-r from i-zva-ra, e-u-ch from i-zvi-s, Old High German i-wi-h): on the other hand, the u of the base yu (4 yu), as in Gothic so also in the oldest form of the High German, is rejected in the oblique cases, both in the plural and in the dual*; and the Gothic i-zva-ra, Old High German i-wa-r, &c. stand for ju-zva-ra, ju-wa-r. The Old Saxon, however, and Anglo-Saxon, like the Lithuanian, shew themselves, in respect to the preservation of the base, more complete than the Gothic, and carry the u, which in Anglo-Saxon has become o, through all the oblique cases: iu-we-r, ëo-ve-r, "vestri," &c. If merely the two historical extremes of the forms here under discussion—the Sanscrit and New German forms—be contrasted with one another, the assertion must appear very paradoxical, that ever and gunan yushmakam are connected, and, indeed, in such wise, that the u of euer has nothing

^{*} So much the more remarkable is the u, which is still retained in the North-Friesian dialect (Grimm, p. 814), where, e.g. yu-nke-r, yu-nk, in regard to the base, distinguishes itself advantageously from the Gothic i-gqva-ra, i-nqvi-s.

in common with the u of gyu, but finds its origin in the m of the syllable m sma.

169. The distinction of the dual and plural in the oblique cases of the two first persons is not organic in German; for the two plural numbers are distinguished originally only by These, however, in our pronouns the case-terminations. are, in Gothic, the same; and the difference between the two plural numbers appears to lie in the base—ugka-ra,* νωϊν, unsa-ra, ήμων, igqva-ra, σφωϊν, izva-ra ύμων. But from a more close analysis of the forms in the two plural numbers, and from the light afforded us by the kindred Asiatic languages, it appears that the proper base is also identical in the two plural numbers; and it is only the particle sma combined with it which has become doubly corrupted, and then the one form has become fixed in the dual, the other in The former comes nearest to the Prakrit-Pali the plural. form $rac{1}{2}$ mha, and between u-nsa-ra and u-gka-ra (=u-nka-ra) an intervening u-nha-ra or u-mha-ra must be assumed. At least I do not think that the old s became k at one spring, but that the latter is a hardened form of an earlier h, which has remained in the Prakrit and Pali, as in the singular nominative the k of ik has been developed from the h of wen aham. The second person gives, in Gothic, $qv \ (=kv \$ §. 86. 1.) for k, while the other dialects leave the guttural the same form in both persons: Old High German, u-ncha-r, i-ncha-r; Old Slavonic, u-nke-r, i-nke-r; Anglo-Saxon, u-nce-r, i-nce-r. It would consequently appear proved that the dual and plural of the two first persons are not organically or originally different, but belong, as distortions and mutilations of different kinds, to one and the same original form; and that therefore these two pronouns have preserved the old dual just as little as

^{*} It must not be overlooked, that here g before k only represents the nasal answering to k (86.1.).

the other pronouns and all substantive and adjective declensions.

170. The fourth form in which was appears in Gothic is that which I first remarked, and which I have brought forward already in the "Annals of Oriental Literature" (p. 16.). What I have there said, that the datives singular, like thamma, imma, have arisen, by assimilation, from thasma, i-sma, I have since found remarkably confirmed by the Grammar of the Old Prussian published by Vater, a language which is nearly connected with the Lithuanian and Gothic, since here all pronouns of the third person have smu in the dative. Compare, e.g. antar-smu with the Gothic anthara-mma, "to the other": ka-smu with the Gothic hva-mma, "to whom?" We have also shewn in Greek, since then, a remnant of the appended pronoun sma similar to the Gothic, and which rests on assimilation, since we deduced the Æolic forms \tilde{a} - $\mu\mu$ - $\epsilon\varsigma$, \tilde{v} - $\mu\mu$ - $\epsilon\varsigma$, &c., from \ddot{a} - $\sigma\mu e$ - $e\varsigma$, \ddot{v} - $\sigma\mu e$ - $e\varsigma$, to which the common forms $\dot{\eta}\mu e \hat{\iota}\varsigma$, $\dot{\nu}\mu e \hat{\iota}\varsigma$, have the same relation that the Old High German de-mu has to the Gothic tha-mma, only that hueis, bueis, in respect to the termination eîs, are more perfect than the Æolic forms, since they have not lost the vowel of the particle $\sigma\mu\epsilon$, but have contracted $\mu\epsilon$ - $\epsilon\varsigma$ to $\mu\epsilon\hat{\imath}\varsigma$.

171. The Gothic datives in mma are, as follows from §. 160., by origin, instrumentals,* although the particle sma in Sanscrit has not made its way into these cases, and e.g. national, "through him," not tasmena, or, according to the Zend principle (§. 158.), tasma (for tasma), is used;— I say, according to the Zend principle; for though in this

^{*} The difference between the forms the, hve, explained at §. 159., and the datives tha-mma, hva-mma, consists first in this, that the latter express the case relation by the affixed particle, the former in the main base; secondly, in this, that thamma, hvamma, for thamme, hvamme, on account of their being polysyllabic, have not preserved the original length of the termination (cf. §. 137.).

language hma has entered into the instrumental masculine and neuter, this case in the base ta could only be used tahma or used tahma (from ta-hma-a). In the feminine, as we can sufficiently prove, the appended pronoun really occurs in the instrumental; and while e.g. from the masculine neuter base used and "this" (m.), "this" (n.), we have found the instrumental of the same sound used and not anahma, from the demonstrative base us a occurs rather often the feminine instrumental used ahmy-a, from the fem. base seu ahmi, increased by the appended pronoun.

172. The Sanscrit appended pronoun sma should, in the feminine, form either sma sma or smi: on the latter is based the Zend form so hmi mentioned at §. 171. But in Sanscrit the feminine form smi has been preserved only in such a mutilated condition, that before my acquaintance with the Zend I could not recognise it. From ta-smi must come the dative ta-smy-ai, the gen. and ablative ta-smy-as, and the locative ta-smy-am. These forms, by rejecting the m, have become abbreviated to sait ta-sy-ai, near ta-sy-as, rear ta-sy-am; and the same is the case with the feminine pronoun smi in all similar compounds; so that the forms mentioned appear to have proceeded from the masculine neuter genitive tasya, by the annexation of new case-terminations. This opinion was the more to be relied on, that in Gothic, also, the feminine forms

^{*} The Zend, too, has not everywhere so fully preserved the feminine hmi, as in the instr. a-hmy-a; but in the genitive, dative, and ablative has gone even farther than the Sanscrit in the demolition of this word, and has therein rejected not only the m but also the i. The feminine בשנישט a-nh-âo (§. 56°.), "hujus," for a-hmy-âo, often occurs; and for it also בשנישט ainh-âo, in which the i is, to use the expression, a reflection of the lost של (§. 41.). From another demonstrative base we find the dative של ava-nh-âi, and more than once the ablative בשנישט און מים מים הא-âi for ava-hmy-âi, ava-hmy-âi.

thi-zôs, "hujus," thi-zai, "huic," might be deduced from the masculine genitive this, by the addition of the terminations ds and ai; and as, too, in Lithuanian, the whole of the oblique cases singular of the 1st and 2d person stand in close connection with the Sanscrit-Zend genitives मम mama, אנעג mana, אדן tava, אאן tava, and have the same as base. After discovering the Zend feminine pronominal forms in hmy-a in the instrumental and locative—in the latter for hmy-anm—the above-mentioned forms in Sanscrit cannot be regarded otherwise than as abbreviations of ta-smy-ai, &c., as this is far more suited to the nature of the thing. The Gothic forms then, also, thizos, thizai, will be regarded as abbreviated, and must be divided into thi-zô-s, thi-zai. The masculine neuter appended pronoun sma must, for instance, in Gothic give the feminine base $SM\overline{O} = \overline{m} sm a$, as BLINDO, nom. blinda, "ceca," from BLINDA, m. n. (nom. blind'-s, blinda-ta), SMO, however, by the loss of the m, as experienced by the Sanscrit in the feminine, has become SO; but the s, on account of its position between two vowels (according to §. 86. 5.), has become z. fore, thi-zô-s has only s as case-sign, and the dative thi-zai, like gibai in §. 161., is without case character. masculine neuter genitive thi-s, therefore, thi-zoi, have nothing in common but the demonstrative theme THA, and the weakening of its a to i (§. 66.).

173. Gothic adjective bases in a (Grimm's strong adjectives) which follow the pronominal decleusion, differ from it, however, in this point, that they do not weaken the final a of the base before the appended pronoun to i, but extend it to ai, and form the feminine dative from the simple theme, according to the analogy of the substantives: hence blindai-zô-s, blindai, not blindi-zô-s, blindi-zai.

^{*} With respect to the extension of the a to ai, compare the gen. pl. and Sanscrit forms, as tê-bhyas, üs, têshâm, "corum," for ta-bhyas, ta-sâm.

174. The Zend introduces our pronominal syllable sma in the form of hma also into the second, and probably into the first person too: we find repeatedly, in the locative, אָרָאַיּל thwa-hm'-î instead of the Sanscrit निय tvay-i, and hence deduce, in the 1st person, ma-him'-î, which we cannot quote as occurring. The Prakrit, in this respect, follows the analogy of the Zend; and in the 2d person gives the form तुमस्म tuma-sm'-i, "in thee," or, with assimilation, तुमन्म tumammi, with तुमे tumê (from tuma-i) and तइ tai; and ममस्म mama-sm'-i or ममस्म mama-mmi, "in me," together with the simple मर mae and मइ mai.* Ought not, therefore, in German also, in the singular of the two first persons, a remnant of the pronominal syllable sma to be looked for? The s in the Gothic mi-s, "to me," thu-s, "to thee," and si-s, "to himself," appears to me in no other way intelligible; for in our Indo-European family of languages there exists no s as the suffix of the instrumental or dative. Of similar origin is the s in the plural u-nsi-s, "nobis," "nos," i-zvi-s, "vobis," "vos"; and its appearance in two otherwise differently denoted cases cannot therefore be surprising, because this s is neither the dative nor accusative character, but belongs to a syllable, which could be declined through all cases, but is here deprived of all case-sign. In u-nsi-s, i-zvi-s, therefore, the Sanscrit en sma is doubly contained, once as the base, and next as the apparent case-suffix. I am inclined, also, to affirm of the above-mentioned Prakrit forms, tu-ma-sm'i, "in thee," and ma-ma-sm'i, "in me," that they doubly contain the pronominal syllable sma, and that the middle syllable has dropped a preceding s. For there is no more favourite and facile combination in our class of languages than of a pronoun with a pronoun; and what is omitted by one dialect in this respect is often afterwards supplied by another more modern dialect.

^{*} See Essai sur le Pali, by E. Burnouf and Lassen, pp. 173. 175.

175. The k in the Gothic accusatives mi-k, thu-k, si-k (me, te, se), can be deduced, as above, in u-gka-ra, voiv, &c. from s by the hardening of an intervening h; so that mi-s is altered to mi-h, and thence to mi-k; and therefore, in the singular, as also in the plural, the dative and accusative of the two first persons are, in their origin, identical. In Old High German and Anglo-Saxon our particle appears in the accusative singular and plural in the same form: Old High German mi-h, "me," di-h, "thee," u-nsi-h, "us," i-mi-h, "you"; Anglo-Saxon me-c, "me," u-si-c, "us," the-c, "thee," eo-vi-c, "you": on the other hand, in the dative singular the old s of the syllable sma has become r in the High German, but has disappeared in the Old Saxon and Anglo-Saxon: Old High German mi-r, di-r; Old Saxon mi, thi; Anglo-Saxon me, the.

176. In Lithuanian was appears in the same form as in the middle of the above (§. 174.) mentioned Prakrit forms; namely, with s dropped, as ma; and indeed, first, in the dative and locative sing. of the pronouns of the 3d person and adjectives; and, secondly, in the genitive dual of the two first persons: we cannot, however, refer to this the m, which the latter in some cases have in common with the substantive declension. The pronominal base TA, and the adjective base GERA, form, in the dative, tá-mui, "to thee," gerá-mui, "to the good" (shortened tám, gerám), and in the locative ta-me, gera-me; and if -mui and -me are compared with the corresponding cases of the substantive a bases, it is easily seen that mui and mè have sprung from ma. The pronouns of the two first persons form, in the genitive dual, mu-mû, yu-mû, according to the analogy of ponû, "of the two lords."*

^{*} We have a remnant of a more perfect form of the particle was sma in the locative interrogative form ka-mmè, "where?" Sansc. The ka-smin,

177. Lithuanian substantives have i for the dative character, but i bases have ei^* ; a final a before this i passes into u; hence wilku-i. Although we must refuse a place in the locative to the dative i of the Greek and Latin, still this Lithuanian dative character appears connected with the Indo-Zend ℓ , so that only the last element of this diphthong, which has grown out of a+i, has been left. For the Lithuanian has, besides the dative, also a real locative, which, indeed, in the a bases corresponds exactly with the Sanscrit and Zend.

178. The nominal bases, Sanscrit, Zend, and Lithuanian, explained at §. 148., excepting the neuters ending with a vowel and pronouns, to the full declension of which we shall return hereafter, form in the dative:

| | SANSCRIT. | ZEND. | LITHUANIAN. |
|----|---------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| m. | v rikāy a, | věhr k åi, | wilku-i. |
| f. | jih váy-ái , | hizvay-åi, | ranka-i. |
| m. | paty-é,† | paite-ê ?‡ | pách-ei. |
| f. | prîtay-ê, | åfrîte-ê, | áwi-ei. |
| f. | bhavishyanty-âi, | bûshyainty-di, | |
| m. | sûnav-ê, | pašv-ê, | sunu-i. |

[&]quot;in whom," which, according to the common declension, would be kasmé (from kasma-i). Compare the Gothic hvamma, "to whom," for hvasma.

^{*} The form áwini, with áwiei appears to admit of being explained as arising from the commixture of the final vowel of the a bases.

[†] The form पत्रे patyé is, with respect to its want of Guna, irregular, and should be पत्रे patayé.

| | SANSCRIT. | ZEND. | LITHUANIAN. |
|-------|--------------------|--------------------------|-------------|
| f. | tanáv-ê, | ta nu-y- ê,* | |
| f. | vadhv-di, | | |
| m. f. | gav-ê, | gav-ê, | |
| f. | nâv-ê, | | |
| f. | vách-ê, | v ách-é , | |
| m. | bharat-ê, | barënt-ê, | |
| m. | âtman-ê, | aŝmain-ê, | |
| n. | nâmn-ê,‡ | nāmain-ê, | • • • • |
| m. | bhrât r -ê, | brâthr-e, | |
| f. | duhitr-ê, | dughdhĕr-ê, [†] | |
| m. | dåtr-e, | •dåthr-ê, | |
| n. | vachas-ê,‡ | va chaṇh-ê, | |

^{*} I give n(y) with euphonic y, because I have found this form frequently, which, however, cannot, for this reason, be considered as peculiar to the feminine; and, instead of it, also $tanv \in tanv etanv \in tanv etanv e$

[†] The ξ ε in κλεο ρη dughdhere, and in the instr. ωλεο ρη dughdhera, is placed there merely to avoid the harsh combination of three consonants. I deduce these forms from the plural genitive ξωλεο ρη dughdher-anm, for ξωλο ρη dughdher-anm.

Respecting And namné, for Annané, and so in the instrumental And namná, for Annaná, see §. 140. In Zend, in this and similar words, I have not met with the rejection of the a in the weakest cases (§. 130.), but examples of its retention, e.g. in the compound aoctónáman, whence the genitive aoctónámanó (Vend. S. p. 4, and frequently). I consider the initial a in this compound as the negation, without euphonic n; for in all probability it means "having untold (countless) names." Similar compounds precede, viz. clarant neurophas hazantó-ghaóshahé baévaré-chashmanó, "of the thousand eared, ten thousand eyed." Cf. Anquetil II. 82. In words in van, on the other hand, as a is rejected in the weakest cases, and then the » v becomes) u or b o. Regarding the addition of the s i in a sangual namainé, see §. 41.

ABLATIVE.

179. The Ablative in Sanscrit has π t for its character, regarding the origin of which there can no longer be any uncertainty, as soon as the influence of pronouns on the formation of cases has been recognised, as we are conducted at once to the demonstrative base ta, which already, in the neuter, nominative, and accusative, has assumed the nature of a case-sign, and which we shall subsequently, under the verb, see receiving the function of a personal termination. This ablative character, however, has remained only in bases in waa, which is lengthened before it; a circumstance that induced the Indian Grammarians, who have been followed by the English, to represent win at as the ablative termination. It would therefore be to be assumed, that in gang vrikat the a of the base has been melted down with the & of the termination.*

180. M. E. Burnouf[†] has been the first to bring home the ablative character to a class of words which had lost it in Sanscrit, and whence it can be satisfactorily inferred that a simple t, and not dt, is the true ablative character. We mean the declension in u, of which hereafter. As regards bases in a, which in Sanscrit alone have preserved

^{*} I have drawn attention already, in the first (German) edition of my Sanscrit Grammar, to the arbitrary and unfounded nature of this assumption (§§. 156 and 264.); and I have deduced from the ablatives of the pronouns of the two first persons (mat, tvat) that either at with short a, or, more correctly, a simple t, must be regarded as the ablative termination. This view I supported in the Latin edition of my Grammar, on the ground that in old Latin also a simple d appears as the suffix of the ablative. But since then the justness of my opinion regarding the Sanscrit ablative has been still more emphatically confirmed by the Zend language, because the Zend stands in a closer and more evident connection with the Sanscrit than does the Latin.

[†] Nouveau Journal Asiatique 1829, tom. III. 311.

the ablative, we have to observe, that in Zend also the short vowel is lengthened, and thus purg věhrká-i answers to קיוות vrika-t. Bases in ב i have di-t in the ablative; whence may be inferred in Sanscrit ablatives like पतेत् pate-t, प्रोतेत् prîtê-t (§. 33.), which, by adding Guna to the final vowel, would agree with genitives in ê-s. Zend-Avesta, as far as it is hitherto edited, nevertheless offers but few examples of such ablative forms in oi-t: سالبمائدی I owe the first perception of them to the word afritoit, "benedictione," in a passage of the Vendidad, explained elsewhere, which recurs frequently. Examples of masculine bases are perhaps אילעאראאראא אילעאראראין rajoit zaratustroit, "institutione zaratustrica" (V. S. p. 86), although otherwise ديود raji, which I have not elsewhere met with, is a masculine: the adjective base zaratustri, however, belongs to the three genders. From שעגלע gairi, "mountain," occurs the ablative out garbit in the Yescht-Sade. Bases in u have phu ad-t in the ablative; and in no

^{*} See Gramm. Crit. add. ad r. 156.

than the ablative parties, for Anquetil generally expresses by gu, w by e, w by be, and w by d. The nominal base slave gairi, however, is treated in Zend as if gari was the original form, and the i which precedes the r was produced by the final i, as remarked by M. Burnouf in the article quoted at p. 173, and confirmed by the genitive may look gardis. That, however, which is remarked by M. Burnouf, l. c. with respect to the genitive, and of which the Vend. S. p. 64. affords frequent proof in the genitive may patois, must also be extended to the ablative in oit; and the i, which, according to §. 41., is adduced through the final s i of the base, is dropped again before this termination.

Interchanges of b o and b of are particularly common, owing to the slight difference of these letters. Thus, e.g. for p is p in p in

class of words, with the exception of that in a, does the ablative more frequently occur, although in only about five or six words, the ablative use of which is very frequent; e.g. phayama ddonhabt, "creatione," from ddonhu, in a passage explained elsewhere phayama anhabt, "mundo," from juya anhu; phayama tanabt, "corpore," from juga tanu. Bases ending with consonants are just as little able to annex the ablative phayama the intervention of another letter, as the accusative is to annex m without an intermediate letter; and they have at as their termination, numerous examples of which occur; e.g. pada ap-at, "aqua"; pada athr-at, "igne"; pajak chashman-at, "oculo"; pajak athr-at, "igne"; pajak chashman-at, "demone"; pauad viŝ-at, "loco" (cf. vicus, according to \$.21.). Owing to the facile interchange of the a a with at a pad at is sometimes erroneously written for pad at; thus, Vendidad S. p. 338, pauaguaguan ŝabchant-at for pada pada sabchant-at, "lucente." Bases in u some-

* Gramm. Crit. §. 640. ann. 2.

by the Sanscrit form wait abrôt, for which the irregular form waith abravit is used; and secondly, it answers to the 1st pers. mraôm (V. S. p. 123.); thirdly, the Sanscrit wit 6, is in Zend, never represented by In ao, but by \$\frac{1}{2}\$ 6, before which, according to \$\frac{1}{2}\$. 28., another \$\triangle a\$ is placed, hence \$\frac{1}{2}\$ \$\triangle 6\$, before which, according to \$\frac{1}{2}\$. 28., another \$\triangle a\$ is placed, hence \$\frac{1}{2}\$ \$\triangle 6\$. 28. If, then, In ao represents \$u\$, in accordance with \$\frac{1}{2}\$. 32 and \$\frac{1}{2}\$. 28. If, then, In ablative point formed in the ablative points \$\frac{1}{2}\$ and \$\frac{1}{2}\$ \$\frac{1}{2}\$ \$\frac{1}{2}\$ and \$\frac{1}{2}\$ \$\frac{1}{2

times follow the consonant declension in having ou at as the ablative termination instead of a mere t; just as in the genitive, besides a simple s, they exhibit also an ô (from as, §. 56^b.), although more rarely. Thus, for the above-mentioned און שאנעשט tanaot, "corpore," occurs also tanv-at (Vend. S. p. 482).* Feminine bases in w a and s i have pow dt in the ablative, as an analogous form to the feminine genitive termination wie as, whence, in the Zend εω âo; e.g. κωι με μ a dahmay-ât, "præclara," from ως μ a dahmâ; κωι μινων), urvaray-ât, "arbore," from ωλυ»), barethri. The feminine bases also in u, and perhaps also those in i, may share this feminine termination at; thus, from zautu, "begetting," comes the ablative zauthw-at (cf. Gramm. Crit. §. 640. Rem. 2.). Although, then, the ablative has been sufficiently shewn to belong to all declensions in Zend, and the ablative relation is also, for the most part, denoted by the actual ablative, still the genitive not unfrequently occurs in the place of the ablative, and even adjectives in the genitive in construction with substantives in the ablative. Thus we read, Vend. S. p. 479, φυτρινιστικό τουπο τριακό τουπορικική hacha avanhat visat yat mazdayasnois, "ex hac terra quidem mazdayasnica.``

^{*} Burnouf writes tanavat, probably according to another Codex. I hold both forms to be correct, the rather as in the genitive, also, both tanv-6 and tanav-6 occur; and in general, before all terminations beginning with a vowel, both the simple form and that with Guna are possible.

[†] Vendidad Sade, p. 463: † Louis Land for the same form of the chathware jangro nishdaredairyat barethryat hacha puthrem, "As a wolf, a four-footed animal, tears a child from its mother." This sentence is also important as an example of the intensive form (cf. Gramm. Crit. §. 363.). The Codex, however, divides incorrectly nishdare dairyat.

[†] Regarding this form, see p. 172. Rem.

181. The Old Roman corresponds with the Zend in regard to the designation of the ablative; and in those two memorials of the language, that on the Columna rostrata, and the S. C. de Bacchanalibus, which are the most important inscriptions that remain, all ablatives end with d; so that it is surprising that the ablative force of this letter could be overlooked, and that the empty name of a paragogic d could be held satisfactory. Bases ending with a consonant use ed as ablative suffix, as in the accusative they have em instead of a simple m: hence, forms like præsent-ed, dictator-ed, answer to the Zend sabchant-at, at hr-at (lucente igne); while navale-d,* præda-d, inalto-d, mari-d, senatu-d, like the above-mentioned Zend forms public garôi-t, "monte," ρφωμορ tanaô-t, "corpore," &c.; and in Sanscrit gang vriká-t, "lupo," have a simple T sound to denote the ablative. The Oscan also takes the ablative sign d through all declensions, as appears from the remarkable inscription of Bantia, e.g. dolu-d, mallu-d, cum preivatu-d, touta-d, præsenti-d.† It may be preliminarily observed, that, in the 3d person of the imperative, old Latin and Oscan forms like es-tod, es-tud—for es-to, and therefore with a double designation of person—correspond remarkably to similar Vêda forms with which we are hitherto acquainted only from Pânini; e.g. जीवतात् jîva-tât, which signifies both "vivat" and "vive," but in the latter sense is probably only an error in the use of the language (cf. vivito as 3d and 2d person).

182. In classical Latinity a kind of petrified ablative form appears to be contained in the appended pronoun met, which may be transferred from the 1st person to the others also, and answers to the Sanscrit ablative mat, "from me." But it is possible, also, that met may have

^{*} The e here belongs to the base, which alternates between e and i.

[†] See O. Müller's Etruscans, p. 36.

dropped an initial s, and may stand for smet, and so belong to the appended pronoun **w** sma, explained in §. 165. &c., corresponding with its ablative smat, to which it stands in the same relation that memor (for mesmor) does to smri-from smar, §. 1.—"to remember." The combination of this syllable, then, with pronouns of the three persons, would require no excuse, for was has been shewn, unites itself to all persons, though it must itself be regarded as a pronoun of the 3d person.* conjunction sed, too, is certainly nothing but the ablative of the reflexive; and sed occurs twice in the S. C. de Bacch. as an evident pronoun, and, in fact, governed by inter; whence it may be assumed that inter can be used in construction with the ablative, or also that, in the old languages, the accusative is the same with the ablative; the latter view is confirmed by the accusative use of ted and med in Plautus.

183. In Sanscrit the ablative expresses distance from a place, the relation "whence;" and this is the true, original destination of this case, to which the Latin remained constant in the names of towns. From the relation "whence," however, the ablative is, in Sanscrit, transferred to the causal relation also; since that on account of which any thing is done is regarded as the place whence an action proceeds. In this manner the confines of the ablative and instrumental touch one another, and noteina (§. 158.) and noteinal tasmat, may both express "on account of which." In adverbial use the ablative spreads still further, and in some words denotes relations, which are otherwise foreign to the ablative. In Greek, adverbs in ως may be looked upon as sister forms of the Sanscrit ablative; so that ω-ς, from bases in o, would have the same relation to the Sanscrit

^{*} The reduplication in me-mor, from me-smor, would be of the kind used in Sanscrit, e. g. pasparsa, "he touched," of which hereafter.

चात् å-t, from bases in a, that, e.g. δίδωσι has to ददाति dadå-ti. Thus, ὁμῶ-ς may be akin to the Sanscrit समात् samā-t, "from the similar," both in termination and in base. Greek, the transition of the T sounds into ς was requisite, if indeed they were not to be entirely suppressed*; and in §. 152. we have seen neuter bases in τ , in the uninflected cases, preserve their final letter from being entirely lost by changing it into ς . We deduce, therefore, adverbs like $\delta\mu\hat{\omega}$ - ς , οὕτω-ς, ώ-ς, from όμῶ-τ, οὕτω-τ, ώ-τ or όμῶ-δ, &c., and this is the only way of bringing these formations into comparison with the kindred languages; and it is not to be believed that the Greek has created for this adverbial relation an entirely peculiar form, any more than other case-terminations can be shewn to be peculiar to the Greek alone. relation in adverbs in $\omega_{-\varsigma}$ is the same as that of Latin ablative forms like hoc modo, quo modo, raro, perpetuo. In bases ending with a consonant, os for or might be expected as the termination, in accordance with Zend ablatives like γουγυξημικό chashman-at, "oculo"; but then the ablative adverbial termination would be identical with that of the genitive: this, and the preponderating analogy of adverbs from o bases, may have introduced forms like σωφρόν-ως, which, with respect to their termination, may be compared with Zend feminine ablatives like נוגל של barethry-at. We must also, with reference to the irregular length of this adverbial termination, advert to the Attic genitives in ws for os.t

^{*} As, in οὖτω, together with οὖτω-ς, ὧδε, ἄφνω, and adverbs from prepositions—ἔξω, ἄνω, κάτω, &c. It is here desirable to remark, that in Sanscrit, also, the ablative termination occurs in adverbs from prepositions, as where adhastat, "beneath," yearn purastat, "before," &c. (Gram. Crit. §. 652. p. 279.).

[†] In compounds, remains of ablative forms may exist with the original T sound retained. We will therefore observe, that in `Αφροδίτη the first member

THE GENITIVE.

184. In no case do the different members of the Sanscrit family of languages agree so fully as in the genitive singular; only that in Latin the two first declensions, together with the fifth, as well as the two first persons of the pronouns, have lost their old termination, and have replaced it by that of the old locative. The Sanscrit terminations of the genitive are \mathbf{q} s, \mathbf{q} sya, \mathbf{q} as, and \mathbf{q} is the three first are common to the three genders: as is

member has a genuine ablative meaning; and as the division ἀφρο-δίτη admits of no satisfactory explanation, one may rest satisfied with ἀφροδ-ίτη. In Sanscrit, wanten abhrâditâ would mean "the female who proceeded from a cloud," for abhrâ-t must become abhrâd before itâ (\S . 93'.); and in neuter verbs the otherwise passive participial-suffix ta has usually a past active meaning. Of this usage ιτη, in αφροδ-ίτη, might be a remnant, and this compound might mean, therefore, "She who arose, who sprang, from foam." The only difficulty here is the short vowel of od for wd. As regards the Sanscrit, here also the s of the ablative may in most declensions rest on an exchange with an older t (cf. p. 185. Rem.); and, as the Zend gives us every reason to expect Sanscrit ablatives like jihvây-ât, prûê-t, sûnô-t, bhavishyanty-ât, âtman-at; so it will be most natural to refer the existing forms jihvây-âs, prîtê-s, &c., where they have an ablative meaning, to the exchange of t with s, which is more or less in vogue according to the variety of dialects; particularly as it is known, also that, vice versa, according to certain laws, स s passes into त t (Gramm. Crit. §. 100.) Consequently the identity between the genitive and ablative, in most declensions, would be only external, and the two cases would vary in their history; so that, e.g. jihvay-as would be, in one sense, viz in that of linguæ, independent and original; and in another, that of lingua, a corruption of jihvay-at. At the time when Sanscrit and Zend were separated from one another, the retention of the original t must have been the prevailing inclination, and, together with it, may also its change into s have arisen, as the Zend also uses, at times, the genitive form with an ablative meaning (e.g. Vend. S. p. 177.).

principally confined to the consonant bases,* and hence has the same relation to s that, in the accusative, am has to m, and, in the Zend ablative, at has to t.

take Guna; and the Zend, and in a more limited degree, also, the Lithuanian and Gothic, share this augment. All u bases, for example, in Lithuanian and Gothic, prefix an a to their final vowel: hence the Lithuanian sunaù-s and Gothic sunau-s correspond to the Sanscrit and sûnôs (filii) from sunaus (§. 2.). In the i bases in Gothic, Guna is restricted to the feminines; thus anstai-s, "gratiæ," answers to and prîtê-s. Respecting Lithuanian genitives of i bases see §. 193. The High German has, from the earliest period, dropped the genitive sign in all feminines: in consonant bases (§§. 125, 127.) the sign of the genitive is wanting in the other genders also.

186. The form which the Sanscrit genitive termination after consonants assumes, as it were of necessity (§. 94.), viz. as for s, has in Greek, in the form o_s, passed over also to the vowels ι and υ and diphthongs terminating in υ; and genitives like πορτει-ς, ἐχθευ-ς, which would be in accordance with §. 185, are unheard of; but πόρτι-ος, ἐχθύ-ος, answer, like ποδ-ος, to Sanscrit genitives of consonant bases, as uca pad-as, "pedis," una vách-as, "vocis." The Latin, on the other hand, answers more to the other sister languages, but is without Guna: so hosti-s is like the Gothic genitive gasti-s. In the u bases (fourth declension) the lengthening of the u may replace the Guna, or, more correctly, this class of words followed the Greek or consonant principle, and the vowel dropped before s was compensated for by

^{*} Besides this, it occurs only in monosyllabic bases in ξi , ξi , and ξi , and ξi , ξi , and ξi , and ξi , ξi , and ξi , which, by the assumption of a euphonic ξi , assimilate to the consonant declension in most cases.

senatu-os in Grecian garb. Otherwise the termination is of consonant bases is better derived from the Sanscrit was than from the Greek os, because the old Sanscrit a in other places in Latin, has been weakened to i, as frequently happens in Gothic (§. 66, 67.).

188. Bases in wa, and pronouns of the third person, of which only amu ends with a vowel other than a, have, in Sanscrit, the more full genitive sign was a: hence, e. g. gate vrika-sya, "lupi," neuta-sya, "hujus," &c., when we want to be a superful amu-shya,

^{*} It might be assumed that as βασιλέος clearly stands for βασιλέ Foς, βοός for βο Fός, ναός for να Fός, (§. 124.), so also άστεος would stand for ἄστε Foς, and that ἄστεος, therefore, should be compared with the Zend genitives with Guna, as ψ>>> danhav-6. The ε, therefore, in άστεος would not be a corrupted υ of the base, but the Guna vowel foreign to the base; but the v of the base, which, according to the original law of sound, must become F before vowels, is, like all other digammas in the actual condition of the language, suppressed. The ϵ is certainly a very heterogeneous vowel to the v, and the corruption of the latter to e, in the middle of a word, would be a greater violation of the old relations of sound than the rejection of a v sound between two vowels. The corruption of i to e is less surprising, and occurs also in Old High German (§. 72.). In Greek, also, a consonant y is wanting, but cannot have been originally deficient; and therefore the question might be mooted whether also πόλεως, σινάπεος may not stand for pole-yos, sinape-yos.

"illius," (§. 21.). In Zend this termination appears in the form of hê (§. 42.): hence, e. g. ໝາມງໃນເຊັ່ງ věhrkahê, "lupi," ພາມງໃນຊ່າງ tửiryê-hê, "quarti," for tửirya-hê.

189. In Greek and Latin we have already, in another place, pointed out a remnant of the genitive termination स्य sya, and, in fact, precisely in places where it might be most expected. As bases in wa a correspond to the Greek bases in o, and as σ in Greek at the farthest extremity of words between two vowels is generally dislodged, I do not entertain the smallest doubt that the old epic genitive termination in 10 is an abbreviation of σ_{10} ; and that e.g. in τ_{00} , = π_{00} ta-sya, the first o belongs to the base, and only to the Greek Grammar supplies us with another oîo, where a Σ is lost, the necessary and original existence of which no one can doubt: $\dot{\epsilon}\delta\dot{\delta}\delta\sigma\sigma$, and the ancient position of the Σ in the second person, testify for διδοισο instead of διδοῖο, as for έλεγεσο instead of ἐλέγου, just as the Indian πευ ta-sya for το-σιο instead of τοῖο. In the common language the ι, also, has been dropped after the σ , and the o of the termination, which has remained, has been contracted with that of the base to oυ; hence τοῦ from το-ο. The Homeric form αο (Βορέαο, Aiveiao) belongs likewise to this place, and stands for α -10, and this for α - σ 10 (§. 116.). The Latin has transposed our स्य sya to jus, with the change, which is so frequent, of the old a before the final s to u (cf. वृक्स vrika-s, "lupu-s," युष्कमस् yunjmas, jungimus); hence, hu-jus, cu-jus, e-jus, illius for illi-jus, &c. I cannot, however, believe that the i of the second declension is an abbreviation of o10, of which the 1 alone has been retained; * for it is clear that lupi and lupæ from lupai rest on the same principle; and if lupi proceeds from λύκοιο, whence can lupai be derived, as the corresponding Greek feminines nowhere exhibit an all or ne?

^{*} Hartung's Cases, p. 211.

190. In Lithuanian the genitives of the a bases differ remarkably from those of the other declensions, and denote the case by o, in which vowel, at the same time, the final vowel of the base is contained; thus, wilko, "lupi," for It is probable that this $o(\bar{o})$ has arisen from a-s, according to a contraction similar to that in the Zend(§.56^b.). In old Sclavonic, also, o occurs, answering to the Sanscrit as; and nebo, gen. nebese, corresponds to the Sanscrit नभस् That, however, the Lithuanian has left the syllable as in the nominative unaltered, but in the genitve has contracted it to o, may induce the remark, that like corruptions do not always find entrance in like places, if they have not raised themselves to a pervading law. manner, in Gothic, the old a has remained in the interrogative base HVA in the nominative (hvas), but in the genitive hvi-s the weakening to i has taken place; so that here, as in Lithuanian, only the more worthy powerful nominative has preserved the older more powerful form, and an unorganic difference has found its way into the two cases, which ought to be similar.

191. The Gothic has no more preserved a remnant of the more full genitive termination sya, than the Lithuanian and the Gothic a bases, in this case, resemble the i bases, because a before final s has, according to §. 67., become weakened to i; thus vulfi-s for vulfa-s; as also in Old Saxon the corresponding declension exhibits a-s together with e-s, although more rarely; thus, daga-s, "of the day," answering to the Gothic dagi-s. The consonant bases have, in Gothic, likewise a simple s for case-sign; hence, ahmin-s, fijand-s, brôthr-s (§. 132.). The older sister dialects lead us to conjecture that originally an a, more lately an i, preceded this s—ahmin-as, fijand-as, brôthr-as,—which, as in the nominative of the a bases (vulf'-s for vulfa-s), has been suppressed. The Zend exhibits in the r roots an agreement with the Gothic, and forms, e.g. when no man, "not

nar-ô, probably on account of the nature of the r bordering on that of a vowel, and of its facile combination with s.*

192. Feminines in Sanscrit have a fuller genitive termination in bases ending with a vowel, viz. as for simple s (see §. 113.); and, in fact, so that the short-ending bases in इ i and उ u can use at will either simple स s or आस as; and instead of मीतेस prité-s, तनोस tanô-s, also मीत्यास prity-as, तन्यास tanv-as, occur. The long vowels आ a, ई i, ऊ û, have always आस as; hence, जिल्लायास jihvay-as, भविष्यन्यास bhavishyanty-as, सम्बास vadhv-as. This termination आस as, is, in Zend, according to §. 56^b., sounded ao; hence, हम्मार्थ्य hizvay-ao, हम्पार्थ्य hizvay-ao. In bases in s i and s u I have not met with this termination;

^{*} Hence I deduce the genitives אנפ סעלש brâtar-s, שנפ סעלש brâtar-s, אנפ dughdhar-s—which cannot be quoted—and the probability that the corresponding Sanscrit forms are properly bhrātur, duhitur, which cannot be gleaned from the Sanscrit alone, on account of §. 11., and by reason of the elsewhere occurring euphonic interchange of s and r. आत्र bhrâtur, and similar forms, would therefore stand for -urs, and this apparently for ars, through the influence of the liquids; and, according to §. 94., they would have lost the genitive sign. The same is the case with the numeral adverb चतुर chatur, "four times," for चतुस chature; for which the Zend, by transposing the r, gives will chathrus (§. 44.). The Indian Grammarians also, in the genitives under discussion, assume the absence of the genitive sign (Laghu-Kaumudî, p. 35). As, however, the Visarga, in क्रोष्ट्र krôshtu (from the theme क्रोष्ट्र krôshtar or क्रोष्ट्र krôshtri, see §. 1.), can evidently stand as well for s as for r; so in such doubtful cases it is of no consequence to which side the Indian Grammarians incline, where arguments are not found in the Sanscrit itself, or in the kindred languages, which either confirm or refute their statements. And it is impossible, if the Visarga, in Min. bhrâtuh, stands for r, that the preceding u can be a transposition of the final letter of the base (स्त उत्), for this cannot be both retained in the form of r, and yet changed into u (cf. Colebrook, p. 55, Rem.)

[†] Only the few monosyllabic words make an exception. (Gramm. Crit. §. 130.)

tanv-θ, ψ»νιμο tanav-θ, I find no εωιισχώω afrîthy-do, בשא, שני tanv-ao. The kindred European languages exhibit no stronger termination in the feminine than in the masculine and neuter; the Gothic, however, shews a disposition to greater fulness in the feminine genitive, inasmuch as the & bases preserve this vowel in contradistinction to the nominative and accusative; but the i bases, as has been shewn above, attach Guna to this vowel, while the masculines do not strengthen it at all. Compare gibô-s with the uninflected and base-abbreviated nominative and accusative giba, and anstai-s with gasti-s. Respecting the pronominal and adjective genitives, as thi-zô-s, blindai-zô-s, The Greek, also, in its feminine first declension preserves the original vowel length in words which have weakened the nominative and accusative— $\sigma\phi\dot{\nu}\rho\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$, Μούσης, opposed to σφῦρἄ, σφῦρά-ν, μοῦσἄν.* In Latin, also, ā-s, with the original length of the base escās, terrās, &c. stands opposed to escă, escă-m. It cannot be supposed that these genitives are borrowed from the Greek; they are exactly what might be expected to belong to a language that has s for the genitive character. however, this form, which no doubt extended originally to all a bases, gradually disappeared, leaving nothing but a few remains, and that the language availed itself of other helps, is in accordance with the usual fate of languages which continually lose more and more of their old hereditary possessions.

193. The Lithuanian, in its genitive rank-ds for rankd-s,

^{*} The Attic termination ω_{ζ} is, perhaps, a perfect transmission of the Sanscrit with $\hat{a}s$; so that forms like $\pi \delta \lambda \epsilon \cdot \omega_{\zeta}$ answer to where $prity-\hat{a}s$. Although the Greek ω_{ζ} is not limited to the feminine, it is nevertheless excluded from the neuter $(\delta \sigma \tau \epsilon \sigma_{\zeta})$, and the preponderating number of ϵ bases are feminine.

resembles the Gothic; and in some other cases, also, replaces the feminine \bar{a} by a long or short o. It is doubtful how the genitives of i bases, like aviës, are to be regarded. As they are, for the most part, feminine, and the few masculines may have followed the analogy of the prevailing gender, the division ani-és might be made; and this might be derived, through the assimilative force of the i, from awi-ås (cf. p. 174, note *), which would answer to the Sanscrit genitives like प्रीत्यास prîty-ås. If, however, it be compared with मीतेस prîtês, and the é of awies be looked upon as Guna of the i (§. 26.), then the reading anies for anes is objectionable. Ruhig, indeed, in his Glossary, frequently leaves out the i, and gives ugnes, "of the fire," ugnies; but in other cases, also, an i is suppressed before the e generated by its influence (p. 174, note *); and, e.g. all feminine bases in $j\bar{a}$ have, in the genitive, ℓs for i- ℓs or y- ℓs , as giesmê-s, for giesmyês, from $GIESMY\overline{A}$ (see p. 169, note). Therefore the division amié-s might also be made, and it might be assumed that the i bases have, in some cases, experienced an extension of the base, similar to those which were explained in the note, p. 174. (cf. §. 120.). This view appears to me the most correct, especially as in the vocative, also, avié answers to giesme for giesmye, or giesmie.

194. As regards the origin of the form through which, in the genitive, the thing designated is personified, with the secondary notion of the relation of space, the language in this case returns back to the same pronoun, whence, in §. 134., the nominative was derived. And there is a pronoun for the fuller termination also, viz. we sya, which occurs only in the Vêdas (cf. §. 55.), and the s of which is replaced in the oblique cases likewise, as in the neuter, by t (Gramm. Crit. §. 268.); so that we sya stands in the same relation to when the syam and we tya-t that we say does to we ta-m, we ta-t. It is evident, therefore, that in waya, we tya, the bases we say waya, are contained, with the vowel suppressed and united

with the relative base $\forall ya$. Here follows a general view of the genitive formation:

| | SANSCRIT. | ZEND. | GREEK. | LATIN. | LITHUAN. | GOTHIC. |
|----|--------------------------|---------------------------------|--|------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| m. | v rika-sya , | věhrka-hê, | λύκο-ιο, | | wilkō, | vulfi-s. |
| m. | ka-sya, | ka-hê, | • • • • | cu-jus, | kō, | kvi-s. |
| f. | jihvdy-ds, | hizva y-åo, | χώρα-ς, | terrā-s, | rankô-s, | |
| m. | paté-s, | patôi-s, | | hosti-s, | † | gasti-s. |
| | paty-us, | | πόσι-ος, | | • • • • | • • • • |
| f. | prîtê-s, | åfrîtôi-s, | • • • • | siti-s, | † | anstai-s. |
| | prîty-ås, | • • • • | φύσε-ως, | | | • • • • |
| f. | bhavishya nty- ås | , bûshyai <mark>nty-</mark> đo, | | | | |
| m. | ક ûn ∂–ક, | pašeu-s, | • • • • | | su n aù- s , | s u nau -s. |
| | • • • • | pašv-ô, | ἰχθύ-ος, | | | • • • • |
| f. | ta n ô–s, | ta n eu- s , | • • • • | 80crū-8, | | |
| | tanv-ås, | tanv-∂,. | πίτυ-ος, | | | |
| f. | vadhv-ås, | | • • • • | | | |
| m. | f. <i>gô-s</i> , | geu-s, | $\beta o(F)$ -ó ς , | bov-is, | • • • • | |
| f. | n dv– as , | | νā(F)-ός, | | | |
| f. | våch-as, | vách-6,‡ | όπ−ός, | voc-is, | • • • • | |
| m. | bh arat-as , | barënt-6,§ | φέροντ-ος, | ferent-is, | | fijand-s. |
| m. | âtman-as, | asman-0, [†] | δαίμον-ος, | sermon-is | s, ákme n-s | , ahmi n -s. |
| n. | nâmn-ô, | nâman-ô,‡ | τάλαν-ος, | nomin-is, | • • • • | namin-s. |
| m. | bhråtur, | bråtar-s, | πατρ-ός, | fratr-is, | | brôthr-s. |
| f. | duhitur, | dughdhar-s, | θυγατρ-ός | , matr-is, | dugter-s | , dauht r -s. |
| m. | dâtur, | dåtar-s, | δοτῆρ-ος, | datōr-is, | • • • • | • • • • |
| n. | vachas-as, | vachaṇh-ô,‡ | $ \stackrel{\epsilon}{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon(\sigma)$ -os, | oper-is. | • • • • | |
| | | | | | | |

^{*} The meanings in §. 148.

[†] See §. 193.

[‡] See p. 163. Rem. (*).

[§] And Jours baratô also may occur, according to the analogy of Jours less berezatô, "splendentis," V. S. p. 87, and passim. The retention of the nasal in the genitive, however, as in all other cases, is the more common form, and can be abundantly quoted. For Jours barentô, also Jours barantô, is possible, and likewise, in the other cases, the older

THE LOCATIVE.

195. This case has, in Sanscrit and Zend,* i for its character, and in Greek and Latin has received the function of the dative, yet has not suffered its locative signification to be lost; hence, Δωδῶνι, Μαραθῶνι, Σαλαμῖνι, ἀγρῷ, οἴκοι, χαμαί; and, transferred to time, τῆ αυτῆ ἡμέρα, τῆ αὐτῆ νυκτί. So in Sanscrit, दिससे divasê, "in the day;" निश्चि niśi, "in the night."

196. With wa of the base preceding it, the locative z i passes into z e (§. 2.), exactly as in Zend; but here, also, so is stands for n e (§. 33.); so that in this the Zend approaches very closely to the Greek datives like οἴκοι, μοί, and σοι, in which i has not yet become subscribed, or been replaced by the extension of the base vowel. To the forms mentioned answers so maidhyōi, "in the middle." One must be careful not to regard this and similar phenomena as showing a more intimate connexion between Greek and Zend.

197. In Lithuanian, which language possesses a proper locative, bases in a correspond in this case in a remarkable manner with the Sanscrit and Zend, since they contract this a with the old locative i, which appears pure nowhere any more, to è; hence, dienè, "in God," from DIEWA, answers to de dêvê, wow daêvê. The bases which terminate with other vowels employ, however, in

^{*} Few cases admit of being more abundantly quoted in Zend than the locative, with which, nevertheless, Rask appears to have been unacquainted at the time of publishing his treatise, as he does not give it in any of his three paradigms.

with the relative base **\(\pi_{ya}\)**. Here follows a general view of the genitive formation:*

| | SANSCRIT. | ZEND. | GREEK. | LATIN. | LITHUAN. | GOTHIC. |
|------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| m. | v rika-sya , | vě hrka- hê, | λύκο-ιο, | | $m{w}ilm{k}ar{o}$, | vulfi-s. |
| m. | ka-sya, | ka-hê, | • • • | cu-j u s, | kō, | hvi-s. |
| f. | jihvây-ås, | hizva y-ão , | χώρα-ς, | terrā-s, | rankô-s, | gibû-s. |
| m. | patė-s, | patõi-s, | | hosti-s, | † | gasti-s. |
| | paty-us, | • • • • | πόσι-ος, | • • • • | | • • • • |
| f. | prîtê-s, | ðfrítði-s, | • • • • | siti-s, | † | anslai-s. |
| | prîty-ås, | • • • • | φύσε-ως, | | | • • • • |
| f. | bhavishya nty-å s | s, bûshyai nty-âo | , | | | |
| m. | s ûnô−s, | pašeu-s, | | • • • | su n aù- s , | 8 u nau -8. |
| | • • • • | pašv-ô, | ἰχθύ-ος, | | | • • • • |
| f. | ta n ô-s, | taneu-s, | • • • • | 80crū-8, | | |
| | tanv-ås, | tanv-ð,. | πίτυ-ος, | | | • • • • |
| f. | vadhv-ås, | | • • • • | | | |
| m. í | i. gô- s , | geu-s, | $\beta o(F)$ -ó ς , | bov-is, | | |
| f. | n av-as, | | νā(F)-ός, | | | • • • • |
| f. | våch-as, | vách-ô,‡ | όπ-ός, | voc-is, | • • • • | |
| m. | bh arat-as , | barënt-1, | φέροντ-ος, | ferent-is, | • • • • | fijand-s. |
| m. | âtma n- as, | asman-ô, [‡] | δαίμον-ος, | sermon-is | s, ákme n-s | ahmin-s. |
| n. | nâmn-ô, | nâman-ô, [‡] | τάλαν-ος, | nomin-is, | • • • • | namin-s. |
| m. | bhråtu r , | bråtar-s, | πατρ-ός, | frat r-is , | • • • • | brôthr-s. |
| f. | duhitur, | dughdhar-s, | θυγατρ-ός | , matr-is, | dugter-s | ,dauht r -s. |
| m. | dåtur, | dåtar-s, | δοτῆρ-ος, | | | • • • • |
| n. | vachas-as, | vachanh-ô,‡ | $ \epsilon \pi \epsilon(\sigma)$ -os, | oper-is. | • • • • | • • • • |

^{*} The meanings in §. 148.

[†] See §. 193.

[‡] See p. 163. Rem. (*).

[§] And Jours baratô also may occur, according to the analogy of Jours let berezatô, "splendentis," V. S. p. 87, and passim. The retention of the nasal in the genitive, however, as in all other cases, is the more common form, and can be abundantly quoted. For Jours barentô, also Jours barantô, is possible, and likewise, in the other cases, the older

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Lithuanian, without exception, ye as the locative termination, without any accent upon the e, which must not be overlooked. This e is, perhaps, only an unorganic echo, which has occasioned the change of the old locative i into y, as, in Zend, the plural locative termination su, by adding an a, appears, for the most part, in the form of where shva, or where hva. To the Lithuanian ye answers also, in old Sclavonic, a locative termination ye, for which several declensions have the original pure i; so that nebes-i, "in Heaven," and imen-i, "in the name," agree most strictly with the Sanscrit नामि nabhas-i and नामिन nâman-i, from नाम nabhas, नामन nâman.

198. Masculine bases in i and u, and, optionally, feminine bases also, have a different locative termination in Sanscrit, viz. A du, before which i and u are dropped; but in use pati, "lord," and use sakhi, "friend," the i has remained in its euphonic change to u; hence, use paty-du, usul sakhy-du. If we consider the vocalization of the s to u, shewn in §. 56^b., and that, in all probability, in the dual, also, a du has proceeded from use ds (§. 206.); moreover, the circumstance that in the Vêdas the genitive occurs with a locative meaning (country dakshindyds, "in dexterd," for country dakshindydm, Pânini VII. 1. 39.); and, finally, the fact that, in Zend, masculines in i and u likewise employ genitive terminations with a locative signification; we shall be much disposed to recognise in this a du, from use ds, a sort of Attic or produced genitive termination.

199. In u bases, instead of the locative the Zend usually employs the genitive termination $\psi \delta$ (from we as), while, in a genitive meaning, the form which eu-s is more common; thus we read, in the Vend. S. p. 337., Isamus for the season afternoon afternoon afternoon at the same relation to the Sanscrit du that a short a has to a long a, and the two locative terminations

are distinguished only by the quantity of the first member of the diphthong. On the other hand, we find in the feminine base אמן, "body," very often the genuine locative form sweetanv-i; and we do not doubt that, in Sanscrit also, originally the u bases of the three genders admitted in the locative the termination i (सुन्य sunv-i, तन्य tanv-i, मध्य madhv-i, or नपुनि madhu-n-i). Bases in s i employ, in the locative, the usual genitive termination ôi-s; thus, in the Vend. S. p. 234., დააკა კანაა μιφινιιγνις ahmi namané yat mazdayasnois, "in hac terra quidem mazdayasnica, which Anquetil renders by "dans le pays des mazdeïesnans." In pronouns, also, though they have a locative, the genitive sometimes occurs with a locative meaning; e.g. Vend. S. p. 46., ענצעיטן אָנָעטן ainhe vise, "in this way," or "place," (cf. the feminine form ענעשען ainhāo, §. 172. Rem.).

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in their different meaning be also of different origin? And where, then, would the origin of the genitive Romæ be found, as that of the locative has been found already? Should mei, tui, be compared, not with मिय mayi, न्विय tvayi, μοί, τοί, but with मम mama, πτ tava, μοῦ, τοῦ, Goth. meina, As the cases, like their substitutes the prepositions, pass easily from one relation of space to another, and, to use the expression, the highest become the lowest, nothing appears to me more probable, than that, after the first declension had lost its \bar{a} -s, then the dative, according to its origin a locative, necessarily became substituted for the genitive also.* In the second declension the form o-i, which belongs to the dative locative, corresponding to the Greek ω , or—and of which examples still remain handed down to us (as populoi Romanoi)—has become doubly altered: either the vowel of the base alone, or only that of the termination, has been left, and the first form has fixed itself in the dative, and the latter in the genitive, which is therefore similar to the nom. plural, where, in

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like manner, Romani stands for Romanoi. But the dative is not universally represented in Latin by a locative termination; for in the pronouns of the two first persons mihi answers to man ma-hyam, from ma-bhyam, and tibi to grant tu-bhyam; as, however, the league between the dative and locative had been once concluded, this truly dative termination occurs with a locative meaning (ibi, ubi), while vice versa, in Sanscrit, the locative very frequently supplies the place of the dative, which latter, however, is most usually expressed by the genitive, so that the proper dative is, for the most part, applied to denote the causal relation.

201. Pronouns of the 3d person have, in Sanscrit, ξη in instead of i in the locative, and the wa of the appended pronoun was sma is elided (see §. 165.); hence, πενη tasm'in, "in him"; πενη kasm'in, "in whom." This n, which seems to me to be of later origin, as it were an n εφελκιστικόν, does not extend to the two first persons, and is wanting in Zend also in those of the third; hence, seu ahmi, "in this." As to the origin of the i signifying the place or time of continuance, it is easily discovered as soon as i is found as the root of a demonstrative; which, however, like the true form of all other pronominal roots, has escaped the Indian Grammarians.

202. Feminine bases ending with long simple vowels have, in Sanscrit, a peculiar locative termination; viz. The âm, in which, also, the feminines in short i and u can at will participate (cf. §. 192.); while the monosyllabic feminine bases in long § i and I i, for The âm, admit also the common I i; hence, have bhiy-âm or have bhiy-i, "in fear," from A bhi.* In Zend this termination âm has

^{*} Perhaps the termination âm is a corruption of the feminine genitive termination âs (cf. \ 198. Example dakshināyās for dakshināyām), where it should be observed that in Prâkrit, as in Greek, a final s has frequently become a nasal.

190. In Lithuanian the genitives of the a bases differ remarkably from those of the other declensions, and denote the case by o, in which vowel, at the same time, the final vowel of the base is contained; thus, wilko, "lupi," for It is probable that this $o(\bar{o})$ has arisen from a-s, according to a contraction similar to that in the Zend (§. 56^b.). In old Sclavonic, also, o occurs, answering to the Sanscrit as; and nebo, gen. nebese, corresponds to the Sanscrit नभस् That, however, the Lithuanian has left the syllable as in the nominative unaltered, but in the genitve has contracted it to o, may induce the remark, that like corruptions do not always find entrance in like places, if they have not raised themselves to a pervading law. manner, in Gothic, the old a has remained in the interrogative base HVA in the nominative (hvas), but in the genitive hvi-s the weakening to i has taken place; so that here, as in Lithuanian, only the more worthy powerful nominative has preserved the older more powerful form, and an unorganic difference has found its way into the two cases, which ought to be similar.

191. The Gothic has no more preserved a remnant of the more full genitive termination sya, than the Lithuanian and the Gothic a bases, in this case, resemble the i bases, because a before final s has, according to §. 67., become weakened to i; thus vulfi-s for vulfa-s; as also in Old Saxon the corresponding declension exhibits a-s together with e-s, although more rarely; thus, daga-s, "of the day," answering to the Gothic dagi-s. The consonant bases have, in Gothic, likewise a simple s for case-sign; hence, ahmin-s, fijand-s, brôthr-s (§. 132.). The older sister dialects lead us to conjecture that originally an a, more lately an i, preceded this s—ahmin-as, fijand-as, brôthr-as,—which, as in the nominative of the a bases (vulf'-s for vulfa-s), has been suppressed. The Zend exhibits in the r roots an agreement with the Gothic, and forms, e.g. אלשו nar-s, "of the man," not

nar-ô, probably on account of the nature of the r bordering on that of a vowel, and of its facile combination with s.*

192. Feminines in Sanscrit have a fuller genitive termination in bases ending with a vowel, viz. ds for simple s (see §. 113.); and, in fact, so that the short-ending bases in इ i and उ u can use at will either simple स s or आस ds; and instead of मीतेस prité-s, तनोस tanô-s, also मीतास prity-ds, तन्यास tanv-ds, occur. The long vowels आ d, ई i, अ û, have always आस ds; hence, निद्धायास jihvdy-ds, भविष्यन्यास bhavishyanty-ds, यथास vadhv-ds. This termination आस ds, is, in Zend, according to §. 56^b., sounded do; hence, Euissays hizvay-do, Euissyaussicus bushyainty-do. In bases in s i and s u I have not met with this termination;

dughdhar-s—which cannot be quoted—and the probability that the corresponding Sanscrit forms are properly bhrâtur, duhitur, which cannot be gleaned from the Sanscrit alone, on account of §. 11., and by reason of the elsewhere occurring euphonic interchange of s and r. Ang bhratur, and similar forms, would therefore stand for -urs, and this apparently for ars, through the influence of the liquids; and, according to §. 94., they would have lost the genitive sign. The same is the case with the numeral adverb चत्र chatur, "four times," for चतुस् chature; for which the Zend, by transposing the r, gives with chathrus (§. 44.). The Indian Grammarians also, in the genitives under discussion, assume the absence of the genitive sign (Laghu-Kaumudî, p. 35). As, however, the Visarga, in क्रोष्ट्र krôshtu (from the theme क्रोष्ट्र krôshtar or क्रोष्ट्र krôshtri, see §. 1.), can evidently stand as well for s as for r; so in such doubtful cases it is of no consequence to which side the Indian Grammarians incline, where arguments are not found in the Sanscrit itself, or in the kindred languages, which either confirm or refute their statements. And it is impossible, if the Visarga, in min bhrâtuh, stands for r, that the preceding u can be a transposition of the final letter of the base (स्त उत्), for this cannot be both retained in the form of r, and yet changed into u (cf. Colebrook, p. 55, Rem.)

[†] Only the few monosyllabic words make an exception. (Gramm Crit. §. 130.)

together with ωμφηλθω áfrítói-s, ωρεμο taneu-s, or ψ», μο tanv-θ, ψ»νιμιφ tanav-θ, I find no εωιισείλω afrîthy-do, באיא שען tanv-do. The kindred European languages exhibit no stronger termination in the feminine than in the masculine and neuter; the Gothic, however, shews a disposition to greater fulness in the feminine genitive, inasmuch as the bases preserve this vowel in contradistinction to the nominative and accusative; but the i bases, as has been shewn above, attach Guna to this vowel, while the masculines do not strengthen it at all. Compare gibô-s with the uninflected and base-abbreviated nominative and accusative giba, and anstai-s with gasti-s. Respecting the pronominal and adjective genitives, as thi-zô-s, blindai-zô-s, The Greek, also, in its feminine first declensee §. 172. sion preserves the original vowel length in words which have weakened the nominative and accusative—σφύρας, Μούσης, opposed to σφῦρἄ, σφῦρά-ν, μοῦσάν.* In Latin, also, \bar{a} -s, with the original length of the base escas, terras, &c. stands opposed to escă, escă-m. It cannot be supposed that these genitives are borrowed from the Greek; they are exactly what might be expected to belong to a language that has s for the genitive character. however, this form, which no doubt extended originally to all a bases, gradually disappeared, leaving nothing but a few remains, and that the language availed itself of other helps, is in accordance with the usual fate of languages which continually lose more and more of their old hereditary possessions.

193. The Lithuanian, in its genitive rank-ds for rankd-s,

^{*} The Attic termination ω_{ζ} is, perhaps, a perfect transmission of the Sanscrit with $\hat{a}s$; so that forms like $\pi \delta \lambda e - \omega_{\zeta}$ answer to where $prity-\hat{a}s$. Although the Greek ω_{ζ} is not limited to the feminine, it is nevertheless excluded from the neuter $(\tilde{a}\sigma\tau e\sigma_{\zeta})$, and the preponderating number of a bases are feminine.

resembles the Gothic; and in some other cases, also, replaces the feminine \bar{a} by a long or short o. It is doubtful how the genitives of i bases, like anies, are to be regarded. As they are, for the most part, feminine, and the few masculines may have followed the analogy of the prevailing gender, the division ani-es might be made; and this might be derived, through the assimilative force of the i, from awi-as (cf. p. 174, note *), which would answer to the Sanscrit genitives like प्रीत्यास prîty-ås. If, however, it be compared with मीतेस prîtês, and the é of amiés be looked upon as Guna of the i (§. 26.), then the reading anies for anes is objectionable. Ruhig, indeed, in his Glossary, frequently leaves out the i, and gives ugnés, "of the fire," ugniés; but in other cases, also, an i is suppressed before the e generated by its influence (p. 174, note *); and, e.g. all feminine bases in $j\bar{a}$ have, in the genitive, ℓs for i- ℓs or y- ℓs , as giesmé-s, for giesmyés, from $GIESMY\overline{A}$ (see p. 169, note). Therefore the division anie-s might also be made, and it might be assumed that the i bases have, in some cases, experienced an extension of the base, similar to those which were explained in the note, p. 174. (cf. §. 120.). This view appears to me the most correct, especially as in the vocative, also, aviê answers to giesme for giesmye, or giesmie.

194. As regards the origin of the form through which, in the genitive, the thing designated is personified, with the secondary notion of the relation of space, the language in this case returns back to the same pronoun, whence, in §. 134., the nominative was derived. And there is a pronoun for the fuller termination also, viz. was, which occurs only in the Vêdas (cf. §. 55.), and the s of which is replaced in the oblique cases likewise, as in the neuter, by t (Gramm. Crit. §. 268.); so that was stands in the same relation to when the same relation to the tya-m and was tya-t that was does to make ta-m, was ta-t. It is evident, therefore, that in was, watya, the bases was, was, are contained, with the vowel suppressed and united

with the relative base y_a . Here follows a general view of the genitive formation:*

| | SANSCRIT. | ZEND. | GREEK. | LATIN. | LITHUAN. | GOTHIC. |
|--------------|------------------------|-----------------------|---|------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| m. | v rika-sya , | věhrka-hê, | λύκο-ιο, | • • • • | wilkō, | vulfi-s. |
| m. | ka-sya, | ka-hê, | • • • • | cu- ju s, | kō, | hvi-s. |
| f. | jihvdy-ds, | hizva y-ão, | χώρα-ς, | terrā-s, | rankô-s, | gib∂-s. |
| m. | patê-s, | patôi-s, | • • • • | hosti-s, | † | gasti-s. |
| | paty-us, | • • • | πόσι-ος, | • • • • | | • • • • |
| f. | prîtê-s, | ðfrítði-s, | • • • • | siti-s, | † | anstai-s. |
| | prîty-âs, | | φύσε-ως, | | | • • • • |
| f. | bhavishyanty-ds | , bûshyainty-âo, | | | | • • • • |
| m. | s ûn ó-s, | pašeu-s, | | • • • | su n aù- s , | s u nau-s. |
| | | pašv-ô, | ἰχθύ-ος, | | | • • • • |
| f. | ta n ô-s, | taneu-s, | • • • | 80CTŪ-8, | | |
| | tanv-ås, | tanv-ð,. | πίτυ-ος, | | | |
| f. | vadhv-ås, | • • • • | • • • • | | | |
| m . 5 | f. <i>gô-s</i> , | geu-s, | $\beta o(F)$ -ó ς , | bov-is, | • • • • | |
| f. | $m{n} dv$ – $m{a} s$, | • • • • | νū(F)-ός, | | | |
| f. | våch-as, | vách-ó,‡ | όπ-ός, | voc-is, | • • • • | |
| m. | bharat-as, | barënt-0,§ | φέροντ-ος, | ferent-is, | • • • • | fijand-s. |
| m. | åtman-as, | asman-ô,‡ | δαίμον-ος, | sermon-i | s, ákme <mark>n-s</mark> | , ahmin-s. |
| n. | nâmn-ô, | nâman−ô, [‡] | τάλαν-ος, | nomin-is | • • • • | namin-s. |
| m. | bhråtu r , | bråtar-s, | πατρ-ός, | fratr-is, | • • • • | brôth r-s. |
| f. | duhitur, | dughdhar-s, | θυγατρ-ός | , matr-is, | dugter-s | , dauhtr-s. |
| m. | dåtur, | dåtar-s, | δοτῆρ-ος, | datōr-is, | • • • • | • • • • |
| n. | vachas-as, | vachanh-ô,‡ | $ \tilde{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon(\sigma)$ -05, | oper-is. | • • • • | • • • • |

^{*} The meanings in §. 148.

[†] See §. 193.

[‡] See p. 163. Rem. (*).

[§] And إلا المائية baratô also may occur, according to the analogy of المائية berezatô, "splendentis," V. S. p. 87, and passim. The retention of the nasal in the genitive, however, as in all other cases, is the more common form, and can be abundantly quoted. For إلا المائية barentó, also إلا المائية barantó, is possible, and likewise, in the other cases, the older

THE LOCATIVE.

195. This case has, in Sanscrit and Zend,* i for its character, and in Greek and Latin has received the function of the dative, yet has not suffered its locative signification to be lost; hence, Δωδῶνι, Μαραθῶνι, Σαλαμῖνι, ἀγρῷ, οἴκοι, χαμαί; and, transferred to time, τἢ αυτὴ ἡμέρα, τὴ αὐτὴ νυκτί. So in Sanscrit, दिससे divasê, "in the day;" निश्

196. With wa of the base preceding it, the locative *i passes into vė (§. 2.), exactly as in Zend; but here, also, sh di stands for se (§. 33.); so that in this the Zend approaches very closely to the Greek datives like οἴκοι, μοί, and σοι, in which i has not yet become subscribed, or been replaced by the extension of the base vowel. To the forms mentioned answers showing a maidhydi, "in the middle." One must be careful not to regard this and similar phenomena as showing a more intimate connexion between Greek and Zend.

197. In Lithuanian, which language possesses a proper locative, bases in a correspond in this case in a remarkable manner with the Sanscrit and Zend, since they contract this a with the old locative i, which appears pure nowhere any more, to è; hence, dienè, "in God," from DIEWA, answers to dêvé, would daévé. The bases which terminate with other vowels employ, however, in

^{*} Few cases admit of being more abundantly quoted in Zend than the locative, with which, nevertheless, Rask appears to have been unacquainted at the time of publishing his treatise, as he does not give it in any of his three paradigms.

Lithuanian, without exception, ye as the locative termination, without any accent upon the e, which must not be overlooked. This e is, perhaps, only an unorganic echo, which has occasioned the change of the old locative i into y, as, in Zend, the plural locative termination su, by adding an a, appears, for the most part, in the form of when, or when hva. To the Lithuanian ye answers also, in old Sclavonic, a locative termination ye, for which several declensions have the original pure i; so that nebes-i, "in Heaven," and imen-i, "in the name," agree most strictly with the Sanscrit नाम nabhas-i and नामिन nâman-i, from नाम nabhas, नामन nâman.

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^{*} The assumption that a rejected s lies at the base of the genitives in i, ue (a-7) appears to me inadmissible, because in all other parts of Grammar -numerous as the forms with a final s otherwise are—this letter has in Roman defied all the assaults of time, and appears everywhere where the kindred languages lead us to expect it: no terræ for terras (acc. pl.), no lupi for lupos, no amæ for amas, &c. The question is not here that of an occasional suppression of the s in old poets, before a consonant in the word following. The genitives in e-s and e-s occurring in inscriptions (provincie-s, suæ-s, see Struve, p. 7.) appear to be different modes of writing one and the same form, which corresponds to the Greek η - ς for $\bar{\alpha}$ - ς ; and I would not therefore derive the common genitive sue-older form suaifrom suæs with the s dropped. The genitives in us, given by Hartung (p. 161.) from inscriptions in Orelli (nomin-us, exercitu-us, Castor-us, &c.), I am not surprised at, for this reason, that generally us is, in Latin, a favourite termination for wat as; hence nomin-us has the same relation to नास्स namn-as, that nomin-i-bus has to नामभ्यस् nama'-bhyas, and Inpus to gan vriku-s.

like manner, Romani stands for Romanoi. But the dative is not universally represented in Latin by a locative termination; for in the pronouns of the two first persons mihi answers to not many many, from mand two first persons mihi tu-bhyam; as, however, the league between the dative and locative had been once concluded, this truly dative termination occurs with a locative meaning (ibi, ubi), while vice versa, in Sanscrit, the locative very frequently supplies the place of the dative, which latter, however, is most usually expressed by the genitive, so that the proper dative is, for the most part, applied to denote the causal relation.

201. Pronouns of the 3d person have, in Sanscrit, ξη in instead of i in the locative, and the wa of the appended pronoun was sma is elided (see §. 165.); hence, πενης tasm'in, "in him"; when him"; which seems to me to be of later origin, as it were an n εφελκιστικόν, does not extend to the two first persons, and is wanting in Zend also in those of the third; hence, see ahmi, "in this." As to the origin of the i signifying the place or time of continuance, it is easily discovered as soon as i is found as the root of a demonstrative; which, however, like the true form of all other pronominal roots, has escaped the Indian Grammarians.

202. Feminine bases ending with long simple vowels have, in Sanscrit, a peculiar locative termination; viz. with am, in which, also, the feminines in short i and u can at will participate (cf. §. 192.); while the monosyllabic feminine bases in long i and i, for with am, admit also the common i, hence, have bhiy-am or have bhiy-i, "in fear," from it bhi.* In Zend this termination am has

^{*} Perhaps the termination âm is a corruption of the feminine genitive termination âs (cf. \alpha. 198. Esquitate dakshināyās for dakshināyām), where it should be observed that in Prâkrit, as in Greek, a final s has frequently become a nasal.

become abbreviated to a (cf. §. 214.); hence, where yahmy-a, "in which," from yahmi (cf. §. 172.). This termination appears, however, in Zend, to be less diffused than in Sanscrit, and not to be applicable to feminines in j i and j u. The form t is clearly more genuine than the Sanscrit t and u, although from the earliest period, also, t and u may have existed.

203. We here give a general view of the locative, and of the cases akin to it in Greek and Latin (see §. 148.):

| | SANSCRIT. | ZEND. | GREEK. | LATIN. LITHUAN. |
|-----|---------------------------|--------------------|--|--------------------|
| m. | vrikê,* | věhrkê,* | λύκφ, | lup`-ī, wilkè. |
| f. | jihvây-âm, | hizvay-a, | χώρα, | terra-i, ranko-ye. |
| m. | $paty$ - du , \dagger | | πόσι-ϊ, | hosť-ī, páti-ye. |
| f. | prit`-du, [‡] | | πόρτι-ϊ, | sit'-ī, awi-ye. |
| f. | bhavishyanty-ûm | , bûshyainty-a, | , | |
| m. | sûn`-âu, | • • • • | ἰχθύ−ι, | pecu-ī, sunu-ye. |
| f. | tan'-âu,§ | tanv-i, | πίτυ-ι, | socru-ī, |
| n. | madhu-n-i, | | μέθυ-ι, | |
| f. | vadhv-â m , | • • • • | • • • • | |
| m.f | . gav-i, | gav-i, | $\beta o(F)$ - i , | bov-ī, |
| f. | nåv-i, | | | • • • • • • • |
| m. | bharat-i, | barĕ n t-i, | $oldsymbol{\phi} \epsilon$ ροντ $oldsymbol{-}$ ι | ferent-ī, |
| m. | åtman-i, | asmain-i, | δαίμον-ι, | sermon-ī, |
| n. | nāmn-i, | ndmain-i, | | nomin-ī, |
| m. | bhråta r-i , | bråthr-i ? | | fratr-ī, |
| f. | duhitar-i, | dughdhĕr-i? | | , matr-ī, |
| m. | dâtar-i, | dåthr-i? | δοτῆρ-ι, | datō r-ī , |
| n. | vachas-i, | vacaṇh-i, | - A | oper-ī, |
| | | • | - · | _ |

^{*} See §. 196. † See §. 198. † Or prîty-âm. § Or tanv-âm.

^{||} The rejection of the a preceding the r in the theme seems to me more probable than its retention. The i of the termination is guaranteed by the other consonant declension, which in this case we can abundantly enough exemplify. (Regarding dughdhër-i, see p. 194. Rem. *). That in Sanscrit bhratar-i, duhitar-i, dâtar-i are used instead of bhrātri, &c. is contrary

VOCATIVE.

204. The vocative in the Sanscrit family of languages has either no case-sign at all, or is identical with the nominative: the former is the principle, the latter the practical corruption, and is limited in Sanscrit to monosyllabic bases terminating in a vowel: hence, भीस् bhi-s, "fear," as κi - ς . A final a of the nominal bases remains, in Sanscrit and Zend, unchanged; in Lithuanian it is weakened to e; and the Greek and Latin also, in the uninflected vocative of the corresponding declension, prefer a short e to o or u, which, under the protection of the terminations, appears as the final letter of the base. We must avoid seeing in λύκε, lupe, case terminations: these forms have the same relation to quivila that $\pi \acute{e} \nu \tau \acute{e}$, "quinque," have to **qu** pancha; and the old a, which appears in λύκος as o, in lupus as \ddot{u} , has assumed the form of \ddot{e} without any letter following it. In Zend, the consonant bases, when they have s in the nominative, retain it in the vocative also; thus, in the present participle we have frequently found the form of the nominative in the sense of the vocative.

205. Bases in i and u have, in Sanscrit, Guna; neuters, however, have also the pure vowel: on the other hand,

polysyllabic feminines in i and i shorten this final vowel; while a final wid, by the commixture of an i, becomes ℓ (§. 2.). The language, however, both by producing and shortening the final vowel, clearly aims at one and the same end, only by opposite ways; and this end, in fact, is a certain emphasis in the address. To the Guna form जो δ , from a + u, correspond remarkably the Gothic and Lithuanian; as sunau, sunau, resembling the Sanscrit सूनो sûnô.* Gothic feminine bases in i do not occur in Ulfilas in the vocative: as, however, they in other respects run parallel to the u bases, the vocative anstai, from ΔN -STI, might be expected as an analogous form to handau. The Lithuanian i bases in the vocative extend their theme in the same manner as in the genitive (§. 193.); so that, properly, there is no vocative of this class of words, and avie answers to zváke, giesme (Ruhig's third declension), for zwákie, giesmye.[†] Masculine bases, in Gothic, in i, like the masculine neuter a bases, have lost their final vowel in the vocative, just as in the accusative and nominative; hence vulf', daur', gast'. In bases in n the Gothic shares with the Latin the suppression of the final consonant, which has passed over from the nominative to the vocative; while only the Sanscrit and Zend again introduce

^{*} The Zend can at will attach Guna to a final) u, or not; and we find both \$\frac{1}{2}\subseteq mainyo and \$\frac{1}{2}\subseteq mainyu as the vocative of \$\frac{1}{2}\subseteq mainyu, "spirit." On the other hand, we have found a final \$\sigma i \text{only, without Guna;} and indeed frequently \$\sigma \text{paiti, "lord." So Vend. S. p. 456, \$\sigma \text{paiti} \sigma \text{paiti, "arise, lord of the place!" The \$\sigma i\$ between the preposition and the verb serves as a conjunctive vowel, to assist the juncture of the words (cf. §. 150. Rem.).

[†] It follows from this, and from §. 193., that (§. 177.) I have incorrectly assumed ei as the termination in the dative. For áwi-ei, the division should be made thus, áwie-i; and this is analogous with zwáke-i, giesme-i, for zwakie-i, giesmye-i.

into the vocative the nasal which had been dropped in the Adjectives in German, with respect to the vocative, have departed from the old path, and retain the case-sign of the nominative; hence Gothic blind's, "blind." In Old Northern, substantives also follow this irregular use of the nominative sign. The Greek has preserved a tolerable number of its vocatives pure from the nominative sign, and in some classes of words uses the bare base, or that abbreviation of it which the laws of euphony or effeminacy rendered requisite; hence, τάλαν opposed to τάλας, χαρίεν for χαχίεντ' opposed to χαρίεις, παῖ for $\pi \alpha i \delta$ opposed to $\pi \alpha i \varsigma$. In guttural and labial bases the language has not got free of the nominative sign in the vocative, because κ_{ζ} and π_{ζ} (ξ , ψ) are very favourite combinations, to which the alphabet also has paid homage by particular letters to represent them. Still the vocative ava, together with $\tilde{a}va\xi$, is remarkable, and has that sound which might be expected from a theme avakt, to which, in its uninflected state, neither $\kappa\tau$, nor, conveniently, even the κ , could be left. "For the rest it is easy to imagine (says Buttmann, p. 180), that particularly such things as are not usually addressed, if this is the case, prefer retaining the form of the nominative, as $\tilde{\omega} \pi o \hat{v}_{\varsigma}$."* The Latin has followed still farther the road of corruption in the vocative which was prepared by the Greek, and employs in its place the nominative universally, except in the masculine second declension. The substantive bases mentioned in §. 148. form, in the vocative,

^{*} To this circumstance may also the re-introduction of the case-sign in the neuter be owing, while the Sanscrit employs the bare base. Moreover, this fact also may have co-operated towards the Greek more easily freeing itself in the vocative from the bare primary form, because it appears at the beginning of compounds much more rarely than in Sanscrit. (See §. 112.)

| | SANSCRIT. | ZEND. | GREEK. | LATIN. | LITHUAN. | GOTHIC. |
|----------------|-----------------|----------------------|----------|-------------------|----------|----------|
| m. | vrika, | vě hrka , | λύκε, | lupe, | wilke, | vulf'. |
| n. | dâna, | dâta, | δῶρο-ν, | donu-m | | daur`. |
| f. | jihvê, | hizvê ? | χώρα, | terra, | ranka, | giba ? |
| m. | patê, | paiti, | πόσι, | hosli-s, | | gast'. |
| f. | pritë, | âfrîti, | πόρτι, | siti-s, | | • • • • |
| n. | vāri, | vairi, | ίδρι, | mare, | • • • • | • • • • |
| f. | bhavishyanti, | bûshyai n li, | • • • • | | • • • • | • • • • |
| m. | sunô, | pašu, | ἰχθύ, | pecu-s, | sunaù, | sunau. |
| f. | tanô, | tanu, | πίτυ, | socru-s, | • • • • | handau. |
| n. | madhu, | madhu, | μέθυ, | pecu, | | • • • • |
| f. | vadhu, | • • • • | • • • • | | | • • • |
| m.f. | gåu- ક , | gåu-s, | βοῦ, | bo- s , | | • • • • |
| f. | nāu-s, | | ναῦ, | • • • • | | • • • |
| f. | vák, | v ac-s ? | ŏπ-ς, | voc-8, | | • • • • |
| m. | baran, | baran-s, | φέρων, | feren- s , | sukań-s, | fijand. |
| m. | ålman, | asman, | δαῖμον, | sermo', | Akmů', | ahma'. |
| n. | nāman, | nâma n , | τάλαν, | nomen, | | namô. |
| \mathbf{m} . | bhrålar, | brâtarĕ,* | πάτερ, | frater, | | brôthar. |
| f. | duhitar, | dughdharĕ,* | θύγατερ, | mater, | motė, | dauhtar. |
| m. | dûlar, | dâtare,* | _ | dator, | | • • • |
| n. | vachas, | vachô, | ἔπος,† | opus, | • • • • | |

DUAL.

NOMINATIVE, ACCUSATIVE, VOCATIVE.

206. These three cases have, in Sanscrit, in the masculine and feminine, the termination at du, which probably arose from and ds by vocalization of the s (cf. §. 56^b . and 198.), and is therefore only a stronger form of the plural termination as. The dual, both in the cases mentioned and in the others, prefers the broadest terminations, because it is based on a more precise intention than the indefinite

^{*} See §. 44.

plural, and needs, therefore, stronger emphasis, and more lively personification. Compare also, in the neuter, the long i of the dual with the short i of the plural; as ugal asruni with water asrûni.

207. While the Prakrit and Pali have lost the dual, the Zend has retained it; still, however, so that instead of it the plural often occurs, and in the Vend. S., p. 203, אָר ענענענען שאַן אוי and as far as the knees," is used with a plural termination. In the verb the dual is still more rare; but here, however, it is not entirely lost, and many examples of it can be quoted in the V. S.* The Sanscrit termination will du occurs in the corresponding places in Zend in the form of سع do, which, according to §. 56^b., stands at the same time for the Sanscrit termination with ds, and gives an emphatic proof that the Sanscrit dual termination with du is nothing else than a corruption of wie as, and, in fact, an occasional one which appears in grammar only once or twice (see §. 198.), while the example herein given by the Sanscrit has been raised to a general principle by the Zend. This principle becomes almost irrefragable matter of fact from the consideration that the Zend has even actually retained, in the dual, the sibilant before the particle we cha, and uses dos-cha, not do-cha, as might have been expected if the dual termination and du, in Sanscrit, were the original form, and not a corruption of with ds. Thus we read in the Vend. S. p. 225, υρως ωρωρίζε να υρως ω» γου μιμι υφρ tới ubaê hurváos-cha ameretat-áos-cha, "the two Haurvats and Ameriats." † What Anquetil, in his Vocabulary (p. 456),

^{*} Cf. Gramm. Crit Add. to r. 137.

[†] Cf. Anquetil II. 175. The two Genii, which Anquetil writes Khordad and Amerdad, appear very frequently in the dual, also with the termination bya (§. 215.); and where they occur with plural terminations, this may be ascribed to the disuse of the dual, and the possibility of replacing

writes naerekeïdo, and renders by "deux femmes," can be nothing else than ¿wishaylay ndirikay-do, from the base wyslay ndirika. The form ¿wishaylaylay ndirikaydo is, however, evidently more genuine than wyslaw, ndirika; as, according to the Sanscrit principle (§. 213.), from a feminine base must have been formed ndirika. From yswis bazu, Rask cites the form wwslaw bazudo, "arms," without remarking that it is a dual: it clearly belongs, however, to this number, which was to be expected referring to the arms; and yswis bazudo forms, in the nominative plural, wyswis bazudo or wwslaw bazudo. Still, in the edited parts of the Zend-Avesta, examples are wanting of bazudo, regarding the genuineness of which, however, I have no doubt.

208. In the Vêda dialect, the termination will du occurs frequently abbreviated to d, so that the last element of the diphthong is suppressed. Several examples of this abbreviated form occur in Rosen's "Specimen"; as, when aśvin-d, "the two Aswins," from aśvin, and ना nard, "two men," which can be derived both from nar (न nri) and

replacing the dual in all cases by the plural. Thus we read, l.c. p. 211, haurvatāt-6 and ameretāt-as-cha as accusative, and with the fullest and perhaps sole correct reading of the theme. We will, however, not dwell on this point any longer here, but only remark, that haurvatāt is very frequently abbreviated to haurvat, and the a of ameretat is often found shortened; whence, p. 104, willow haurvathya, will penge 25 fu aměrětatbya (see §. 38.); λίρινος ζεξιι aměrětata bya is a palpable error. Undoubtedly, in the passage before us, for hurvaoscha, must be read either haurvatáoscha, or haurvatátáoscha, or haurvatatáoscha. Compare l. c. p. 91, און און און habrvatatâui-cha with the termination عني مُعنهُ for عندس مُوهُ (cf. §. 33.), but incorrectly \$\dip \delta\$ for \$\dip o\$. The two twin genii are feminine, and mean apparently, "Entireness" and "Immortality." The forms preceding them, therefore, tôi and ubaê, are likewise feminine; the former for $\hbar t\ell$ (§. 33.), the latter for $\hbar t\ell$ (cf. §. 28.). We must also regard the dual form mentioned at §. 45. of the so-called Amschaspants not as neuter, but as feminine.

from nara, but which more probably comes from nar. Zend the abbreviated termination from du is likewise employed, and, in fact, more copiously than the fuller termination; and we rejoice to see, in the Heaven of Ormuzd, also the twin pair called Indian, and celebrated for their youthful beauty. We read, namely, in Vend. S. p. 313, μοσενεζης ψιν»νις νωνιμούνν aspina-cha yavano yaz (maidhé), "and we worship the young Asvini," which Anquetil renders by "je fais Jzeschné à l'excellens toujours (sub-The Sanscrit जाजा aśvina, however, can, in Zend, give nothing but aspina or aspina (§. 50.); the former we owe here to the protecting particle was cha (see p. 175, Rem.*). The plural yavan-6 (from yavanas), referring to the dual aspina, is worthy of remark, however (if the reading be correct), as it furnishes a new proof that, in the received condition of the Zend, the dual was near being lost: the verb being, for the most part, found in the plural when referring to nouns in the dual form.

which frequently stands for it in Zend, the transition is easy to the Greek e, as this vowel, at the end of words, is a favourite representative of the old ă; and, as above, in the vocative (§. 204.), λύκε stood for το υτίκα, μηλυτές νέμτκα, so here, also, ἄνδρα (with euphonic δ) corresponds to the above-mentioned Vêda το nard, and Zend μλη nar-a. Although, according to §. 4., ω also very frequently stands for το ξ, still we must avoid regarding λύκω as the analogous form to το ντίκά, or μηλυτές νέμτκα (see §. 211.). That, however, the Lithuanian dual ù of masculine bases in a (in the nominative) is connected with the Vêda and Zend dual termination spoken of, i.e. has proceeded from ā, I

have the less doubt, because in the other declensions the Lithuanian dual also agrees in this case most strictly with the Sanscrit, and the Lithuanian u or u (uo) is, in some other places, equally the representative of an old & (see §. 162.); compare, dumi, or dudu, "I give," with ददानि dadami; dusu, "I will give," with दास्यामि dasyami. And the monosyllabic pronominal bases also in a sound in the dual \hat{u} ; thus, $t\hat{u} = \pi t\hat{a}$, $k\hat{u} = k\hat{a}$. We hold, therefore, the Vêda form gan vrika, the Zend was vehrka, and the Lithuanian wilkù, as identical in principle: we are, at least, much more inclined to this view of the matter than to the assumption that the u of wilku is the last portion of the Sanscrit diphthong and that wilku belongs to the form gal vrikhu. In the vocative the Lithuanian employs a shorter u, and the accent falls on the preceding syllable: thus wilku, opposed to wilku, in which respect may be compared $\pi \acute{a} \tau \epsilon \rho$ opposed to $\pi a \tau \mathring{\eta} \rho$, and §. 205.

- 210. Masculine and feminine bases in i and u suppress, in Sanscrit, the dual case termination with au, and, in compensation, lengthen the final vowel of the base in its uninflected form; thus, unit pati, from unit pati; unit sanu. The can baze daze do, "arms," (from baze) mentioned in §. 207., is advantageously distinguished from these abbreviated forms. The curtailed form is not, however, wanting in Zend also, and is even the one most in use. From parameter maingu, "spirit," we frequently find the dual parameter maingul: on the other hand, for accepted, "two fingers," we meet with the shortened form accepted which is identical with the theme (Vend. S. p. 318. 156/2 www dva ěrězu).
- 211. The Lithuanian, in its i and u bases, rests on the above-mentioned Sanscrit principle of the suppression of the termination and lengthening of the final vowel: hence, and, "two sheep" (fem.), answers to well avi, from well avi; and sunù, "two sons," to no well sûnû. On this principle rests

also the Greek dual of the two first declensions. not desired entirely to remove the ω of λύκω from a Grecian soil, and banish it completely to India, it may be allowed to seek its origin, not in the long a of gan vrika, but in the short o of the base, as the first declension has a long α in the dual, because its bases terminate with α , although in the common dialect this letter is very frequently represented by η . Or may it, perhaps, have happened, that, in the dual α of the first declension an ι subscribed has been lost, and thus $\tau \hat{\alpha}$ for $\tau \hat{q}$ would correspond to the Sanscrit \vec{n} te (from ta + i or i)? Be that as it may, still the dual has always the quality α , because it is comprehended in the base, and the ω of λύκω may be regarded as merely the lengthening of the o of $\lambda \dot{\nu} \kappa o$; for it must be assumed, that if the Sanscrit a bases had preserved the short a in Greek, and वृक्स vrika-s had become λύκα-ς, even the dual would be λύκα, and not λύκω.

- 212. Neuters have, in the Sanscrit dual, for the termination of the cases under discussion, not with du, but i, as in the plural they have not as but short i (3), A final wa of the base with this i passes into ve (8.2); hence, want sate, "two hundred," from was sate-i: other vowels interpose a euphonic n; hence, and talu-n-i, "the palate." In Zend I can quote the neuter dual only in the a bases; as, for example, we frequently find wows saite (8.41.), answering to the Sanscrit was sate; and was saite (8.41.), answering to the Sanscrit was sate; and was due hazanré, "two thousand," (8.43.) for was due sahasré.
- 213. The Greek has renounced a termination distinguishing the neuter from the two natural genders; but the Sanscrit appears to have extended the neuter i mentioned above also to the feminine a bases. But the coincidence of the feminine form fax jihve, "two tongues," from fax jihve, with the neuter and dane, "two gifts," is, as the Zend instructs us, only external, and the two forms

meet in quite different ways, and have such a relation to one another, that in dane, from dana + i, a dual termination, and, in fact, the usual one of neuters, is actually contained; but in fact jihve the masculine-feminine termination du (from ds, §. 206.) is lost, but can, however, be again restored from the Zend form שעל פענעש nâirikay-âo, "two I believe, that is to say, that जिले jihvê has arisen or been corrupted from जिन्हयो jihvay-ûu* in such a manner, that after the termination has been dropped, the preceding semi-vowel has returned to its vowel nature, and has become a diphthong with the å of the base (see §. 2. and cf. p. 121.). The dual jihvé, therefore, like the Gothic singular dative gibai (§. 161.), would have only an apparent termination, i.e. an extension of the base which originally accompanied the real case termination. In Zend, however, the abbreviated feminine dual form in » & likewise occurs (§. 207. Rem.), and is, indeed, the prevalent one; but it is remarkable, and a fair and powerful confirmation of my assertion, that even this abbreviated form in se, where the appended particle we cha stands beside it, has preserved the case sign i; and, as above, who come who come is a served the case sign is and, as above, who come is a served the case sign is and, as above, who can be served the case sign is and, as above, who can be served the case sign is a served that a served the case sign is ameretat-dos-cha, "the two Amertats," so we find, Vend. S. p. 58. ພາດພາຊຸນ ພາລາ ພາລາ ພາລາ ພາລາ aměsheš-cha špěnté, "and the two Amshaspants" ("non-conniventesque sanctos," cf. जिय amisha and Nalus V. 25, 26. and see §. 50.).* The form אמ is to be deduced from the full form אנגעשאַט ay-dos; so that, after dropping the sw do, the preceding ay must have been contracted to é, just as, p. 121. in Prakrit, सि

^{*} Cf. the dual genitive locative जिन्ह्योस् jihvay-ôs.

[†] The MS. has here μρωςως ω aměšešcha, but ε frequently occurs in the place of n, although, as it appears, through an error. Cf. l. c. p. 88, ερωςων ωνεξη ψημης ω» ων αονέ yašnô aměsê špěnte; and see §. δ1.

the d. We may support the derivation of जिल्ला jihve from जिल्ला jihvay-du, by this circumstance, also, that in the Vêda dialect the feminine i bases may lose the dual termination du, and then display the naked base; thus, in the scholia to Pânini नामही उपानही vârâhî upânahâu, "boarleather shoes," for नामहो vârâhûu. It is very remarkable, that even this Vêda form, only one example of which can be quoted, can be referred to the Zend language. We find, frequently, المعابية وه tevîshî applied to feminine dual substantives (e.g. Vend. S. p. 225.); and I infer that its theme ends with a long, not a short i, from the frequently-occurring plural accusative when the servishîs (Vend. S. pp. 99, 102.).*

214. To the Sanscrit-Zend feminine dual forms in ℓ answer the Lithuanian in ℓ , as ranki, from $RANK\overline{A}$; so that of the diphthong ℓ only the last element is left. The Lithuanian forms the accusative dual, in contradistinction to the kindred languages, according to the analogy of the singular, by a ringing nasal, e.g. wilkun. The Latin has preserved only in duo and ambo a remnant of the dual corresponding to the Greek, which, however, in the oblique cases, is replaced by plural terminations. Here follows a general view of the nominative, accusative, and vocative dual (see §. 148.).

^{*} It is perhaps a participle of the reduplicated pret., according to the analogy of the Sanscrit affect tenivas, fem. affect tenushi (Gramm. Crit. §. 603.); and indeed, from the root » sop tav, "to be able," it may signify "powerful, strong." The ge for so & is explained by the influence of the » v. And position utaywiti also is an adjective feminine dual; but I am unable to quote examples of the other cases of this word, from which to learn whether si or si is its final vowel.

| | SANSCRIT. | ZEND. | GREEK. | LITHUANIAN. |
|----|----------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| m. | vrikāu, | věhrkáo, | | • • • • |
| | vrikā. | věhrká,* | λύκω, | N. wilkù, V. wilku. |
| n. | då n ê, | dâlê, | δώρω, | • • • |
| f. | | hizva y -å o , | • • • • | • • • |
| | jihvê, | hizvê, | $χώρar{lpha}$, | N. rankì, V. ránki. |
| m. | patî, | paiti? | πόσι-ε, | N. patì, V. púti. |
| f. | prîtî, | Afrîtî ? | π όρτι- ϵ , | N. anì, N. áni. |
| n. | vari-n-î, | | ίδρι-ε, | • • • |

^{*} While consonant bases occur in the dual both with a long and a short a, the a bases, contrary to the practice otherwise adopted of shortening a final a, exhibit in the nom. acc. dual, for the most part, the original long I deduce this, among other words, from the so-called Amshaspants, which, together with the feminine form noticed at §. 207. Rem., are found also as masculine; e.g. Vend. S. pp. 14. 30, 31, &c.: سېوپىد meshá spěntá ulozugom wozugom aměshá spěntá hucsathra hudaonhô ayésé, "I glorify the two Amshaspants (non conniventesque sanctos) the good rulers, who created good." If amësha spënta and hucsathra were plural forms, the final a would be short, or at least appear much more frequently short than long; while, on the contrary, these repeatedly recurring expressions, if I mistake not, have everywhere a long a, and only in the vocative a short a (Vend. S. p. 67. Cf. §. 209.). That the epithet hudaonho is in the plural cannot incur doubt, from the dual nature of the Amshasp (cf. §. 208.): this resembles, to a certain degree, the use of adjective genitives referring to a substantive in the ablative, which was mentioned in §. 180. We find, also, the forms ameshão spëntão (Vend. S. p. 313.), which indeed might also be feminine plural forms, but shew themselves only as masculine duals, in the same meaning as the so frequent ameshā spēntā. We find also, frequently, אנגן נוף אורבן בטא spēnistā mainyû, "the two most holy spirits" (p. 80), through which the dual form in a of bases in a is likewise confirmed in the most unequivocal manner. The answer to the query, Whether generally only two Amshaspants are to be assumed? whether the genitive plural (ameshananm spentananm), and sometimes also the accusative plural, is only the representative of the dual, which is very uncertain and shaken in its use, and which is entirely wanting in the genitive? whether under the name Amshuspants, perhaps, we should always

| | SANSCRIT. | ZEND. | GREEK. | LITHUANIAN. |
|------|--------------------|-------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------|
| f. | bhavishyanty-ûu, | bûshyaintî, | • • • • | • • • |
| m. | <i>કû</i> nÛ, | pasú, | ἰχθύ-ε, | N. sunù, V. súnu. |
| f. | tanû, | tanû, | πίτυ-ε, | • • • |
| m. | madhû-n-î, | • • • • | $μ \acute{e} θ υ - e$, | • • • • |
| f. | vadhv-åu, | • • • | • • • • | • • • • |
| m.f. | . gåv-å u,* | • • • • | $\beta \delta(F)$ - ϵ , | • • • |
| f. | nåv-åu, | | $\nu\hat{\alpha}(F)$ - ϵ , | • • • |
| f. | vách-áu, | vách-áo, | • • • • | • • • • |

always understand the Genii Haurvat (Khordad) and Amertat, and whether these two Genii, according to the principle of the Sanscrit copulative compounds, have the dual termination for this reason alone, that they are usually found together, and are, together, two? whether, in fine, these two twin-genii are identical with the Indian Aswinen, which were referred in §. 208. to the Zend-Avesta? The reply to all these queries lies beyond the aim of this book. We will here only notice that, Vend. S. pp. 80 and 422, the Genii Haurvat and Ameriat, although each is in the dual, still are, together, named washe sources where we will are אָבְטָאֵץ >>>> אָכָּף spěnistá mainyű mazdá tevishí, &c., "the two most holy spirits, the great, strong." As Genii, and natural objects of great indefinite number, where they are praised, often have the word višpa, "all," before them, it would be important to shew whether "all Amshaspants" are never mentioned; and the utter incompatability of the Amsh. with the word vispa would then testify the impassable duality of these Genii. they are identical with the celestial physicians, the Indian Aswinen, then "Entireness" and "Immortality" would be no unsuitable names for them. In Pânini we find (p. 803) the expressions मातर्पतरी mâtara-pitarâu and पितस्मात्य pitara-mâtarâ marked as peculiar to the Vêdas. They signify "the parents," but, literally, they probably mean "two mothers two fathers," and "two fathers two mothers." For the first member of the compound can here scarcely be aught but the abbreviated dual pitarâ, matara; and if this is the case, we should here have an analogy to the conjectured signification of haurvat-a and ameretat-a.

* Bases in $\Re \hat{o}$ form the strong cases (§. 129.) from $\Re \hat{a}u$; those in $\Re an$, and nouns of the agent in $\Re tar$, lengthen in those cases, with the exception of the vocative singular, the last vowel but one (see §. 144.).

| | SANSCRIT. | ZEND. | GREEK. | LITHUANIAN. |
|----|------------------------------------|---------------------|---|----------------|
| | vâch- ā ,* | vâch-a, | όπ-ε, | • • • |
| m. | bharant-âu, | barant-ảo, | | • • • • |
| | bharant-å, | barant-a, | φέροντ-ε, | |
| m. | $atman-au,^{\dagger}$ | asma n -do, | • • • • | • • • |
| | âtmân-â, | ašma n -a, | δαίμον-ε, | N. V. ákmen-u, |
| n. | nāmn-î, | | τάλαν-ε, | • • • • |
| m. | bh rá tar-áu, | bråtar-åo, | | • • • • |
| | bhrátar-á, | bråtar-a, | π ατ $ eal_{ ho}$ - ϵ , | • • • • |
| f. | duhitar-du, | dughdhar-û | 0, | • • • • |
| | duhitar-4, | dughdha r -a | ι, θυγατέρ-ι | ε, |
| m. | $d a t a r$ - $a u$, † | dåtår-ao, | • • • • | • • • • |
| | dâtâr-â, | dâtâr-a, | δοτ $\hat{\eta}$ ρ- ϵ , | |
| n. | vachas-î, | | $\He{\epsilon}\pi e(\sigma)$ - ϵ , | • • • • |

INSTRUMENTAL, DATIVE, ABLATIVE.

dual a common termination; while in Greek the genitive has joined itself to the dative, and borrowed its termination from it. It is in Sanscrit and bhyam, which in Zend has been abbreviated to which bya. Connected with the same is, first, the termination and bhyam, which, in the pronoun of the two first persons, denotes the dative singular and plural, but in the singular of the first person has become abbreviated to an hyam (§. 23.). This abbreviation appears, however, to be very ancient, as the Latin agrees

^{*} The Vêda duals in å are as yet only cited in bases in a, n, and ar (\$\pi\$, \§.1.); however, the Zend leads us to expect their extension to the other consonant declensions, as also the circumstance that, in other parts of grammar, in the Vêdas å is occasionally found for åu, and other diphthongs; as \$\pi\$ nabhå, as locative for \$\pi\$ nabhåu, from \$\pi\$ nabhå, "navel."

[†] See the marginal note marked (*), p. 229.

remarkably with it; and mi-hi corresponds to मसम् ma-hyam, as ti-bi does to तुभ्यम् tu-bhyam. In the second place, भ्यस् bhyas, which expresses the dative and ablative plural, is pronounced in Zend by6 (§. 56^b.), in Latin bus, suppressing the y, and with the usual change of as into us. The Lithuanian has mus for bus in the dative plural (§. 63.): this more complete form has, however, remained only in the pronoun of the two first persons, where mu-mus, "nobis," yu-mus, "vobis," are used as well as mu-m's, ju-m's; while in all other words we find simply ms as the sign of the dative wilka-ms, &c. In the dual dative the Lithuanian has only the m of the Sanscrit termination भ्याम् bhyam, as wilka-m. This m is, however, not the final letter of bhyam, but the initial labial, b, in a nasal form (§. 63.)*: to me, at least, it appears improper to regard this dual termination otherwise than that of the kindred plural case; and I have no doubt of the identity of the m of wilka-m, λύκοιν, with that of wilka-ms (for wilka-mus), λύκοις. According to this explanation, therefore, the German plural dative corresponds to the Lithuanian dual dative, vulfa-m, gasti-m, sunu-m.

216. A third form related to the dual termination عام bhyâm is المعرفة bhyâm is المعرفة bhyâm is المعرفة bhyâm is المعرفة bis, has in Latin

^{*} On the facile transition of v into m (cf. p. 114.) rests also, I doubt not, the connection of the termination yan yuvam, "ye two," where avam, "we two," with the common termination au, before vowels av, which in the pronouns spoken of has stiffened into am, and in this form has remained even before consonants. Whether the case is the same with the verbal third dual person avam shall be discussed hereafter.

[†] Cf. Grimm I. 828. 17, where the identity of the Lithuanian-German inflection m with the b (bh of the older languages) was first shewn. When, however, Grimm, l. c., says of the Lithuanian that only the pronouns and adjectives have ms in the dative plural, the substantives simply m, this is perhaps a mistake, or the plural is named instead of the dual; for Ruhig gives ponams, "dominis," akims, "oculis," &c.

fixed itself in the dative and ablative,* which must together supply the place of the instrumental; while in Lithuanian, with the exchange of the labial medial for the nasal of this organ (§. 63.), mis is the property of the instrumental alone, so that puti-mis answers to university pati-bhis, pati-bhis, pati-bhis.

217. I have already elsewhere affirmed, that the Greek termination ϕ_i , $\phi_i v$, is to be referred to this place, \dagger and what. is there said may be introduced here also. If $\phi_{i\nu}$, and not ϕ_i , be assumed to be the elder of the two forms, we may offer the conjecture that it has arisen from $\phi_{i,\varsigma}$, following the analogy of the change of $\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ into $\mu\epsilon\nu$ in the 1st person plural, which corresponds to the Sanscrit mas and Latin must; our would correspond to the Sanscrit bhis and Latin bis, in nobis, vobis. Perhaps, also, there originally existed a difference between φι and φιν (which we find used indifferently for the singular and plural), in that the former may have belonged to the singular, the latter to the plural; and they may have had the same relation to one another that, in Latin, bi has to bis in tibi and vobis; and that, in Lithuanian, mi has to mis in akimi, "through the eye," and akimis, "through the It has escaped notice that the terminations ϕ_i and φιν belong principally to the dative: their locative and instrumental use—ἀυτόφι, θύρηφι, βίηφιν—is explained by the fact, that the common dative also has assumed the sign of these relations. The strict genitive use of the termination ϕ_{i} , $\phi_{i\nu}$, cannot perhaps be denied; for if prepositions, which are elsewhere used in construction with the genitive, occur

^{*} In the 1st and 2d pronoun (no-bis, vo-bis), where bis supplies the place of the bus which proceeds from wat bhyas.

[†] Trans. Berlin Academy, 1826. Comparison of Sanscrit with its kindred languages, by Prof. Bopp. Essay III. p. 81.

[‡] Observe, also, that the Sanscrit instrumental termination bhis has been, in Prakrit, corrupted to ft hin.

also with the case in ϕ_i , $\phi_i \nu$, we are not compelled, on this account, to regard the latter as the genitive or representative of the genitive. In general, all prepositions, which are used in construction with the genitive, would, according to the sense, be better used with an ablative or a locative, if these cases were particularly represented in Greek. The suffix $\theta \epsilon \nu$ also, of genuine ablative signification, expressing separation from a place, is incorrectly considered to represent the genitive termination, where the latter, in the common dialect, has received the sign of the lost ablative. In ὄσσε δακρυόφιν πίμπλαντο, δακρυόφιν would, in Sanscrit, be rendered by अञ्चलिस aśrubhis: the relation is entirely instrumental, and is not changed because the verb mentioned is more usually, though less suitably, used The same is the case with $\delta \sigma \sigma \epsilon \delta \alpha$ with the genitive. κρυόφιν τέρσαντο. In Ίλιόφι κλυτὰ τείχεα it is not requisite to make Ἰλιόφι governed by τείχεα, but it can be regarded as locative "to Πίμμη." And in Od. XII. 45. (πολὺς δ' ἀμφ' όστεόφιν θὶς ἀνδρῶν πυθομένων) there is no necessity to look upon ὀστεόφιν as the genitive, for it can be aptly rendered I know no passages besides where a genitive meaning could be given to forms in ϕ_i and $\phi_i \nu$. To the accusative, likewise, the form ϕ_i , $\phi_i \nu$, is foreign, and according to its origin does not suit it; nor does it appear in the train of prepositions, which elsewhere occur with the accusative, with the single exception of ές ἔννηφιν in Hesiod (cf. Buttmann, p. 205). As to the opinion of the old Grammarians, that ϕ_i , $\phi_i\nu$, may stand also in the nominative and vocative, and as to the impropriety of the v subscribed before this termination in the dative singular of the first declension, we refer the reader to what Buttmann (p. 205) has rightly objected on this head.

218. The neuters in Σ , mentioned in §. 128., are nearly the only ones from bases ending with a consonant, which occur in combination with ϕ_i , $\phi_i v$, in forms like $\delta \chi \epsilon \sigma - \phi_i$,

όρεσ-φι, στήθεσ-φιν, which have been misunderstood, because the Σ dropped before vowel terminations was not recognised as the property of the base. Of the other consonants, ν is the only one, and ΚΟΤΥΛΗΔΟΝ the only ν base, which occurs in combination with φιν; and since N does not combine with Φ so readily as Σ, it assumes an auxiliary vowel ο—κοτυληδόν-ο-φιν—after the analogy of compound words like κυν-ο-θαρσής. This example is followed, without the necessity for it however, by δάκρυ—δακρυόφιν; while ναῦ-φιν, in an older point of view, resembles exactly the Sanscrit πισιαμολλίες; for in compounds, also, the base NAΥ keeps free from the conjunctive vowel o, on which account ναύσταθμον may be compared with Sanscrit compounds like πισιαμολικά "standing (being) in the ship."

219. But to return to the Sanscrit dual termination अपान् bhyam, it is further to be remarked, that before it a final wa is lengthened; hence, वृकान्याम् vrikabhyam for वक्रयाम् vrikabhyam. It hardly admits of any doubt, that this lengthening extended to the kindred plural termination भिस् bhis; and that, hence, from वृद्ध vrika also vrika-bhis would be formed. The common dialect has, however, abbreviated this form to que vrikais, which is easily derived from vrikabhis by rejecting the bh; for according to §. 2., = a + i. This opinion, which I have before expressed,* I can now support by new arguments. first place, which did not then occur to me in discussing this question, the pronouns of the two first persons really form from their appended pronoun *** sma, sma-bhis**; hence चस्माभिस् asmābhis, युचाभिस् yushmābhis; which forms stand in the same relation with the वृद्धानिस् vrikā-bhis, assumed by me, that the accusatives सस्मान् asman, युक्तान् yushman, do with नुकान vrikan, "lupos," Secondly, the opinion which

^{*} Trans. Berlin Academy, 1826. Comparison of Sanscrit with its kindred Languages, by Prof. Bopp. Essay III. p. 79.

I arrived at theoretically has, since then, been so far practically established by the Vêda dialect, that, in it, from a final a a not a-bhis but e-bhis has been formed, according to the analogy of the dative ablative, as वृकेयस vrikebhyas; hence, चर्चाभिस् aśvébhis, "per equos," from सम्ब aśva. common dialect the pronominal form एभिस् ê-bhis, "per hos," answers to this Vêda form, which must properly be derived from the pronominal base wa a, which generally plays the chief part in the declension of seq idam. If, then, on one side, from the pronoun wa a springs the form स्भिस् ê-bhis; on the other side, from wer asma and yer yushma proceed the forms जस्माभिस् asmåbhis, युचाभिस् yushmåbhis; and though the Vêda dialect, in its substantive and adjective bases in a, attaches itself to the former form, still no necessity hence arises for supposing the abbreviated dis to be based on an é-bhis,* as that could never lead to âis. Perhaps, however, abhis might become ebhis, either through the assimilative force of the i of bhis, or through analogy to the dative ê-bhyas, the ê of which may, in like manner, owe its origin to the re-active influence of the y.

220. The Prakrit has fully followed out the path commenced by the Vêda dialect, and changed into vê the â of

^{*} From *lbhis* would come, after rejecting the *bh*, not *āis*, but *ayis*, for ℓ , =a+i, cannot be united with a following *i* to a diphthong, or, as it is itself already a diphthong, to a triphthong.

t I do not regard the Vêda नहीं nadyâis, for नहीं कि nadî-bhis, as an abbreviation of nadî-bhis (for after rejecting the bh, from nadî+is would be formed nadîs), but for a very common instrumental, for which an extension of the base nadî to nadya is to be assumed. On the other hand, the Zend pronominal instrumental dîs mentioned by Burnouf (Nouv. Journ. Asiat. III. 310.) may here be considered, which occurs frequently in the Izeshne, and is probably an abbreviation of mills dibis or mills dibis, from a base di, the accusative of which \$150 dim, "him," is often found with i unlengthened, contrary to \$.64. The connection of the base \$150 di with \$150 ta cannot, on this account, be disputed.

asmā-bhis, yushmā-bhis, as also, in the locative plural, that of asmāsu, yushmāsu; hence अन्होंहं amhē-hin, मुन्होंहं tumhē-hin, अन्हों tumhēsu. Moreover, in Prakrit, all other a bases, as well pronouns as substantives and adjectives, terminate the instrumental plural with होंहं e-hin; and thus सुनिहं kusumē-hin, "floribus," (from kusuma,) answers to the Vêda दुस्तिश्व kusumē-bhis. Before, however, the forms in होंग्स ê-bhis, होंहं ê-hin, had arisen, from आगिस ābhis, by the change of ā into ê, āis must have proceeded by means of rejection and contraction from that most early form. This form exists also in the oldest hymns of the Vêdas, together with that in हिंग्स êbhis: thus, in Rosen, p. 14, यहेस yajnāis; pp. 15 and 21 अदिस arkāis. In Zend the abbreviated form āis is the only one that occurs, which it does, indeed, extremely often.

221. Before the dual termination whis by a the Zend, in its a bases, differs from the Sanscrit in the same way as the Zend and Prakrit do before the termination fire bhis, fit hin; it employs, namely, e for a: but from věhrké-bya, according to §§. 28. 41. comes věhrkatibya. Thus, in the Vendidad, μλλισμομού μλλισμουν μλλισμουν μλατισμού ματαισμού ματαισ

^{*} By rejecting the labial, as in que vrikais from quantity vrikabhis, and by contracting the una yam to w, as when, in Sanscrit, for yashta, ishta is said, from yaj, "to sacrifice," and in Zend & im, "hæc," for yam (see, also, §. 42.).

above mentioned; where, therefore, the first i would fall to the base, which it lengthens, the other to the termination. The third declension, by its forms like δαιμόν-οιν, might give rise to the conjecture, that our and not uv is the true termination: the latter, however, is shewn to be so from the two first declensions, where iv and not oiv is attached to the final vowel of the base (Μούσα-ιν, λόγο-ιν). In the third, therefore, we explain the o before $\iota\nu$ in the same manner as, §. 218. before φιν (κοτυληδον-ό-φιν); viz. as a conjunctive vowel, which has made its way from the bases which necessarily have it, i.e. from those terminating in a consonant into those which might dispense with it (into the bases in ι and υ); as, in general, in the third declension the consonant bases have given the tone, and have shewn the way to the vowels ι and ν . It might, however, not have been necessary for the conjunctive vowel o to make its appearance between consonants and the termination, as δαιμον-ιν could very easily be uttered; but the o of δαιμόνοιν comes evidently from a time when the iv was still preceded by the consonant, which the corresponding Sanscrit termination bhyam leads us to expect; in all probability a ϕ ; thus, δαιμόν-ο-ιν, from δαιμον-ο-φιν.* We should have, therefore, here a different $\phi \iota \nu$ from that which, in §. 217., we endeavoured to explain from ϕ_{i} , ϕ_{i} , ϕ_{i} : the nasal in the dual $(\phi)i\nu$ stands quite regularly for its predecessor m, as, in general, at the end of words. In order to present to our

^{*} The conjunctive vowel o, therefore, before the dual termination $\iota\nu$, has an origin exactly similar to that of the possessive suffix $\epsilon\nu\tau$, which has been already elsewhere compared with the Sanscrit $\tau\tau$ vant. $E\nu\tau$ must therefore have been originally pronounced $F\epsilon\nu\tau$; and the conjunctive vowel, which the digamma made requisite or desirable before consonant bases, and which, from thence, has extended itself to the whole third declension, has remained also after the digamma has been dropped, and thus $\tau\nu\rho$ - δ - $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ answers to $\tau\nu\rho$ o $i\nu$, from $\tau\nu\rho$ -o- $i\nu$: on the other hand, $\tau\nu\rho$ δ - $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ to τ $\nu\rho$ o ν ν (τ ν ρ o ν ν).

view still more clearly how forms quite similar take root in the language as corruptions of preceding dissimilar forms, let the form ἔτυπτον be considered as the first person singular and third person plural; in one case from ἔτυπτομ, in the other from ἔτυπτοντ.

222. If the dual termination iv be explained as a contraction of bhydm, we shall have found, also, the origin of the dative plural termination iv, which appears to have been changed in this number in the pronouns of one gender as it were by accident $(\dot{\eta}\mu'-\hat{\iota}\nu, \dot{\nu}\mu'-\hat{\iota}\nu, \sigma\phi'-\dot{\iota}\nu, \text{ together with}$ $\sigma \phi i - \sigma i$). The Greek, however, in this respect, is guided or misled by the Sanscrit; or, more correctly, the distinction of the plural dative of the pronouns of one gender is very ancient, and the Sanscrit has in them say bhyam as termination (अस्माभ्यम् asmā-bhyam, "nobis," युक्ताभ्यम् yushmā-bhyam, "vobis"), opposed to the van bhyas of all other words. From this bhyam, then, we arrive at w quite as easily, or more so, than from the dual termination bhyam (cf. §. 42.). however, भ्यम् bhyam, and its abbreviated form सम् hyam, according to §. 215., has also its place in the singular dative of the pronouns of one gender, but occurs nowhere else; as, moreover, the Latin also, in the pronouns referred to, has maintained a genuine dative termination, and to the common i, which is borrowed from the locative, presents in contrast the termination bi or hi (for bhi) (§. 200.); we can, therefore, in the singular $\iota \nu$ also of $\dot{\epsilon} \mu' - i \nu$, $\tau \epsilon - i \nu$, $i \nu$, $\sigma \phi' - i \nu$, see nothing else than an abbreviation of my bhyam, a form which the Latin and Greek have shared in such a manner, that the former has retained the beginning and the latter In the *i* both coincide.* The occasional accuthe end.

^{*} A short time since, Max. Schmidt, in his excellent treatise "Commentatio de Pronomine Græco et Latino" (p. 77), endeavoured to connect the termination w here treated of with the Sanscrit in a different way, by designating it as the sister form of the pronominal locative termination

sative use of this termination, in Theocritus, is to be explained from its original signification being no longer felt, and the exchange of its ν with that of the accusative thereby caused. On the other hand, we have in $\mu i \nu$ and $\nu i \nu$ real accusatives, and should therefore divide them $\mu i - \nu$, $\nu i - \nu$; and not assume, with Buttmann (p. 296.), a connection between this form and the dative $-i\nu$.

223. As to the origin of the case-suffixes भिस् bhi-s, भ्यम् bhy-am, भ्याम bhy-am, and भ्यस् bhy-as, which begin with भ्य bhy (from & bhi), we must notice, first, their connection with the preposition was abhi, "to," "towards," "against," (whence चाभातस abhi-tas, "at," cf. "apud"). However, in abhi itself bhi is clearly, in like manner, the termination, and the demonstrative \mathbf{w} a the theme; so that this preposition, in respect to its termination, is to be regarded as a sister form to the Latin ti-bi, si-bi, i-bi, u-bi; just as another preposition, which springs from the pronominal base a, viz. will adhi, "over," finds analogous forms in the Greek locatives, like ő-θι, ἄλλο-θι, οὐρανό-θι (§. 16.). Related to the suffix fy dhi is y dha, which has been retained in the common dialect only in the abbreviation ha, in i-ha, "here," and in the preposition sa-ha, "with;" but in the Vêda dialect exhibits the original form and more extended diffusion, and in the Zend, also, is found in several pro-

mination $\xi = in$ (§. 201.). In this view similar forms would be contrasted, exclusive of the length of the Greek iv, which, according to my explanation, may pass as compensation for the a, which has been dropped. Still I lay less stress on the difference of quantity than on this, that it is precisely the pronouns of one gender in the Sanscrit, which exhibit in the locative not in but the common i (§. 201.), but I attach still more weight to what has been said above in support of my opinion.

^{*} In Prakrit the termination fe hin, which is connected with hi to the connected with his bhi (cf. §. 217.), united also with other pronominal bases, for the formation of locative adverbs, as affecta-hin, "there," affecta-hin, "where."

nominal bases with a locative signification; e.g. אמעטע איינאסע ava-dha, "here." In the Greek, compare θα of ἔνθα, opposed to θεν, from ἔνθεν, ἐμέθεν, &c., from τη dhas, for त्रस् tas, in अथस् a-dhas, "beneath": in which formations $\forall dh$ stands as a permutation of t, and occurs in this way, also, in some other formations.* Therefore dha, dhi is to be derived from the demonstrative base \ ta; but it is more difficult to trace the origin of the fa bhi of wifi abhi (Greek ἀμφί). I suspect that an initial consonant has been dropped. As in Greek, also, $\phi i \nu$ is used for σφίν, and as in Sanscrit dinfa vinέati, "twenty," is clearly an abbreviation of fine dvinsati, and in Zend ديوس bîs, "twice," <u>ديمر</u>ريد bitya, "the second," is used for ودبيه dvis, (Sanscrit द्विस dvis), अऽऽ७३»4 dvitya (Sanscrit द्वितीय dvitiya), so for bhi may be identical with the pronominal base es sva or fee svi—whence the Greek σφεῖς, σφίν, φίν, &c.; and so, indeed, that after the s has been dropped, the following semi-vowel has been strengthened or hardened, just as in the Zend دين bis, مين bitya, and the Latin bis, bi. The changed sibilant might also be recognised in the aspiration of the > bh, as, in Prakrit (§. 166.), sma has become mha; and comes still closer to the case before us in Greek, for $\sigma\phi$ iv is found also ψ iv; and, in Sanscrit, that $\forall bh$ should spring from b + h is not entirely unknown; and in this way is to be explained the relation of भूपस् bhûyas, "more," to ve bahu, "much," the a being rejected (Gramm. Crit. r. 251. rem.).

224. The following will serve as a general view of the dual termination under discussion, in Sanscrit, Zend, Greek, and Lithuanian:—

^{*} Among others, in the 2d person plural of the middle क्षे dhvê and क्ष्म dhvam, for ने tvê, न्यम् tvam.

| SANSCRIT. | ZEND. | greek. | LITHUAN. |
|--------------------------|---|--------------|----------|
| m. vriká-bhyám, | \forall v\text{\vec{e}hrka\text{\vec{e}i-bya, or}}{\vec{vehrk\text{\vec{e}i-bya,}}} | λύκο-ιν, | wilka-m. |
| f. jihvá-bhyám, | hizvA-bya, | χώρα-ιν, | ranko-m. |
| m. pati-bhyâm, | paiti-bya, | ποσί-ο-ιν, | pati-m. |
| f. tanu-bhyâm, | tanu-bya, | πιτύ-ο-ιν, | • • • • |
| f. våg-bhy dm , | vAch-e-bya,* | όπ-ο-ῖν, | • • • • |
| m. barad-bhyâm, | baran'-bya, | φερόντ-ο-ιν, | |
| m. <i>åtma'-bhyåm</i> ,† | asma'-bya, | δαιμόν-ο-ιν, | • • • • |

^{*} I deduce this form principally from the base www raoch, "light," which often occurs in the terminations beginning with b, and always raoch-e-byô. We find, also, אָן אָעאָקאַנ vî-vach-e-bîs (Vend. S. p. 63). Bases in 7r interpose $\xi \check{e}$; those in φt , when a vowel precedes that letter, conjoin the termination direct (אבין באום שומים באבל aměrětátatbya, according to §. 38.): on the other hand, the p t of pw nt is rejected; thus, V. S. p. 9. אונגענג běrězěn'-bya, "splendentibus," with , contrary to §. 60. The form & broat-byanm, "superciliis," also deserves notice, because in this solitary word the case termination appears unreduced (§. 61.). The MS., however, as often as this word occurs, always divides the termination from the base (Vend. S. p. 269, twice, ξωλλι φω<u>νλι broat byanm</u>; pp. 321 and 322, φωνλ<u>ι</u> barva byanm, probably for brava: byanm; so that it would seem that pussibreat is the ablative singular of a theme get brû (Sansc. y $bhr\hat{u}$). I have not found this word in any other case: it is not likely, however, that any thing but φω» brvat or φωων brvant is its theme: in the latter case it would be a participial form, and would demonstrate, that instead of the last consonant of nt, the last but one also can be rejected. Or are we to regard broat byanm as a form of that singular kind that unites with the termination of the ablative singular that of the dual, and thus 25 brû would still be the theme?

[†] N, in Sanscrit and Zend, is rejected before case terminations beginning with a consonant; thus, in Greek, $\delta a i \mu o - \sigma i$, and in Gothic ahma'-m.

BANSCRIT. ZEND. GREEK. LITHUAN. m. bhrátri-bhyám, * bhrátar-ĕ-bya, $\pi \alpha \tau \acute{e} \rho -o \cdot \iota \nu$, n. $vach \acute{o}-bhy \acute{a}m$, † $vach \acute{o}-bya$, $\acute{e}\pi \acute{e}(\sigma)-o \cdot \iota \nu$,

GENITIVE, LOCATIVE.

225. These two cases, in Sanscrit, have the common termination जोस &s, which may be connected with the singular genitive termination. The following are examples: वृक्योस vrikay-ôs, जिन्ह्योस jihvay-ôs (cf. §. 158.), पत्योस paly-ôs, तन्योस tanv-ôs, वाचोस vâch-ôs, आचोस bhrâtr-ôs, वचसोस vachas-ôs. In Zend this termination seems to have disappeared, and to be replaced by the plural; likewise in Lithuanian, where, avj-û is both dual and plural genitive.

PLURAL.

NOMINATIVE, VOCATIVE.

for the termination of the nominative plural, with which, as in the kindred languages, the vocative is identical in all declensions. I consider this as to be an extended form of the singular nominative sign s; so that in this extension of the case-suffix lies a symbolical allusion to plurality: and the s, which is too personal for the neuter, is wanting in that gender, in the singular and dual, as well as in the plural. The three numbers, therefore, with regard to their masculine-feminine termination or personal designation, are related to one another, as it were, like positive, comparative, and superlative, and the highest degree belongs to the dual. In Zend was has, according to §. 56^b.

^{*} we ar before case terminations beginning with consonants is short-ened to wri (§. 127.).

[†] See §. 56

become θ, or was before the appended particles cha and chit; the Greek exhibits ες, under the restriction of §. 228.; the Latin ēs, with unorganic length of quantity through the influence of the s; the Lithuanian has ės in bases in r, but elsewhere simple s. Thus the words ξετια duhitar-as, where simple s. Thus the words get set s. Thus the set set s. Thus the set set s. Thus the set set set s. Thus the set set set set s. Thus the set set se

227. The a of the termination is melted down with a preceding a a of the base to a; thus, gang vrikas, from vrika + as, corresponds to the Gothic vulfos, from VULFAas (§. 69.). In this concretion only, however, with the vowel of the base, the Gothic has preserved the full termination; but elsewhere, both with vowel and consonant bases, the s alone of the old as is left, as in general the termination as in Gothic polysyllabic forms has everywhere been weakened to is or s (cf. §§. 135. 191.): hence, sunyu-s, ahman-s, And with a, too, is contracted with for suniv-as, ahman-as. the termination as to as; hence, facte jihvas, for jihva-as. It cannot, however, be shewn with certainty, from what has been just said, that the Gothic gibos, from GIBO, has simple s or as (contracted with the base vowel to $\theta = d$) for its case designation.

228. The masculine pronominal bases in a refuse, in Sanscrit, Zend, and Gothic, the full nominative designation, and in place of it extend the base by the addition of an i, which, according to §. 2., with the a of the base forms $\forall \ell$, for which, in Zend, is used $a \ell$ or $a \not b \delta i$;

^{*} As $rac{a}$ is lengthened in many other cases to $rac{e}$, and with this the case terminations are then first conjoined, there is good ground to assume that in $rac{a}te$, and similar forms, no case designation at all is contained, and that the pronouns, as purely words of personality, find themselves sufficiently personified in this case through themselves alone; as in the singular sa is said for sas, in Sanscrit as in Gothic, and in Greek δ for δc ; while in Latin, with is-te also ipse and ille are robbed of the nominative sign. This opinion is remarkably confirmed by the fact that $rac{a}{a}$ (Gramm.

hence, Sanscrit 7 te, Zend wo te, Gothic thai, "this," answering to the feminine forms me tas, swo tao (§. 56°.), thos. To this corresponds, in Greek, τοί (Doric for οί). In Greek and Latin, however, this i, which practically replaces the termination as $(\epsilon_{\varsigma}, \bar{\epsilon}_{s})$, has not remained in the masculine pronominal bases in o (= a, . 116.); but all other bases of the second, as of the first declension, have, in Greek and Latin, taken example from it; hence, λύκοι, χώραι, for λυκο-ες, χωρα-ες, lupi (from lupoi), terræ (from The Latin fifth declension, terrai), for lupo-es, terra-es. although in its origin identical with the first (§. 121.), has preserved the old termination; hence, rēs from rē-ēs, as, in Sanscrit, jihvas from jihva-as. The Lithuanian has fixed narrower restrictions than the Greek and Latin on the misuse of the pronominal inflexion under discussion, or, to speak more correctly, want of inflexion; it gives, indeed, $wilkai = \lambda \acute{v} \kappa o_i$, lupi, but not rankai, but rankos. Honour, therefore, to the Gothic! that in this respect it has not overstepped by one hair the old Sanscrit-Zend limits; for that the adjective a bases, as they in general follow the pronominal declension, give also ai for ôs (blindai cæci) is, therefore, no violation of the old law.

229. In Zend, in consonant bases the dual termination בש מס also (from און מֹז, §. 207.) occurs with a plural signification; thus, frequently, בשטשט vâch-âo, "voces," בשטשט און

Crit. §. 271.) shews itself clearly through most of the oblique cases, as ami-byas, "illis," ami-shām, "illorum," to be the naked theme. The form which occurs in the Zend-Avesta argangolum, višpeš-cha, "omnesque" (V. S. p. 49.), considered as a contraction of višpay-aš-cha (cf. §. 244.), leads to the conjecture, that to \$\frac{1}{n} t\hat{e}\$, and similar uninflected forms, the termination as also might attach itself; thus, \$\frac{1}{n} \text{tay-as}\$. In Zend, the pronominal form in \$\epsilon\$ occurs, for the most part, in the accusative plural; and thus the above-mentioned višpeš-cha l. c. stands probably as accusative, although, according to Anquetil's inaccurate translation, it might be regarded as the nominative.

raoch-do, "luces," which forms cannot be regarded, perhaps, as regular plurals of bases in d; for I believe I can guarantee that there exists no such base as which and which raochd. The form क्षेत्रहरूष donho in a bases, as क्षेत्रहरूष vehrkdonho, "lupi," and "lupos," rests on that in the Vêdas, but which only occurs in the nominative, जासस् dsas (§. 56b.); e.g. स्तोनासस् stômdsas, "songs of praise," for स्तोनास stômds, from स्तोन stôma."

230. Bases in i and u have, in Sanscrit, Guna; hence עחשק patay-as, קחשת sûnav-as, for paty-as, sûnv-as. The Gothic also has preserved this Guna, but in its weakened form i (§. 27.), which, before u, becomes y; hence, sunyu-s, "sons," (for suniu-s, from sunau-s,) a form which would be unintelligible without the Guna theory, which has been shewn to belong to the German. In i bases the Guna i is melted down with that of the base to long i (written ei, §. 70.); hence, gastei-s, anstei-s, from GASTI, ANSTI (cf. p. 105.). The Zend employs Guna or not at pleasure; hence שבונושל paity-ô, or paitay-ô, † שבונוע-ô, or paitay-ô, or paitay-ô, or pasav-ô.

231. Neuters have, in Zend, as in the kindred European languages, a short a for their termination; perhaps the remains of the full as, which belongs to the natural genders, after the s, which is too personal for the dead speech-

^{*} This form is, in my opinion, to be so regarded, as that, for greater emphasis, the termination as has been a second time appended to the termination, which had become concrete with the base.

[†] The i, which, according to §. 41., is blended with the base, remains in spite of the a preceding the y.

[‡] Simple as this point is, I have nevertheless found it very difficult to come to a firm conclusion regarding it, although, from the first, I have directed my attention towards it. Burnouf has already (Nouv. Journ. Asiat. III. 309, 310.) given the plural neuter form, and instituted comparisons with the Gothic and Greek, &c. But from forms like hu-mata, "bene-cogitata," "hūcta, "bene-dicta," it cannot be perceived what the neuter plural termination properly is; because, setting out with the Sanscrit, we are tempted to assume that the true termination in these forms

less gender, has been dropped. This a remains, then, in the accusative. The masculine and feminine have, in the same case, generally likewise as (Zend & 6, which ascha). The following are examples: which ashavan-a, "pura;" which is derexant-a, "splendentia;" which vach-a, "verba;" which nar-a, "homines;" which ast-a, "ossa." In nominal bases in a the termination is melted down with the vowel of the base: the a so produced has, however, in the received condition of the language, according to a

has been dropped, and its loss either compensated by lengthening the final vowel, or not. We must therefore direct our attention to bases with a different termination than a, especially to such as terminate with a con-The examination of this subject is, however, much embarrassed, in that the Zend, which could not have been expected, without regard to the gender of the singular, is prone to make every noun neuter in the plural; an inclination which goes so far, that the numerous class of a bases have hereby entirely lost the masculine nominative, and but sparingly exhibit the masculine accusative. When, e.g. mashya, "human being," is, in the plural nominative, likewise mashya (with cha, mashya-cha), here I am nevertheless convinced that this plural mashya, or mashya, is not an abbreviation of mashyan from mashyas (§. 56 b.), as in no other part of Zend Grammar wa or was stands for with as: I am persuaded that this form belongs to the neuter. The replacing, however, of the plural masculine by neuters rests upon a deep internal feeling of the language; for in the plural number it is clear that gender and personality are far in the back ground. The personality of the individual is lost in the abstract infinite and inanimate plurality; and so far we can but praise the Zend for its evitation of gender in the plural. We must blame it, however, in this point, that it does not, in all places, bring the adjectives or pronouns into concord with the substantives to which they refer, and that in this respect it exhibits a downright confusion of gender, and a disorder which has very much impeded the inquiry into this subject. Thus, e.g. vièpa snaghra raochão (not raoch-à), "all lights which have had no beginning"; tisarô (fem.) sata or thrayô (masc.) sata, "three hundred"; chathwârô (masc.) sata, "four hundred." In general the numbers "three" and "four" appear to have lost the neuter; hence, also, thrayô csafn-a, "three nights," chathwarô csafn-a, "four nights"; Vend. S. p. 237, on the other hand, stands tâ nara yâ, "those persons who" I divide thus nar-a, although

principle often quoted, been again shortened, and remains only in monosyllabic bases and before annexed particles. The Gothic and Zend, in this respect, stand very remarkably upon one and the same footing; for thô, "hæc," is used (for thâ, §. 69.), from THAa; hvô, "quæ," for HVAa; but daura, from DAURA, as, in Zend, wo tâ, "hæc," we yâ, "quæ," opposed to was agha, "peccata," from agha. It cannot, therefore, be said of the Gothic that the a of the base has been dropped before that of the termination,

although the form might also belong to a theme nara, which also occurs, but much less frequently than nar; whence also, elsewhere, the masculine nar-ô taé-cha, "and those persons." From the theme vach, "word," "speech," we find frequently vach-a (also, erroneously as it appears, vach-a); e.g. Vend. S. p. 34, where z_n is a positive where z_n vâcha humata hûcta hvarĕsta, "verba bene-cogitata, bene-dicta, bene-peracta." From אנאבאנג ashavan, " pure," occurs very often the neuter plural ashavan-a: as, however, the theme ashavan sometimes, too, although very rarely, extends itself unorganically to ashavana, this form proves less (though it be incorrect) that the neuter ashavan-a should be derived from the unorganic extremely rare ashavana, than from the genuine and most common ashavan, in the weak cases ashaun or ashaon. Participial forms, too, in nt are very common in the neuter plural; and I have never found any ground for assuming that the Zend, like the Pali and Old High German, has extended the old participial theme by a vowel addition. In the Vend. S., p. 119, we find as accusative agha aiwishitar-a, "peccata corrumpentia (?)." Anquetil renders both expressions together by "la corruption du cœur" (II. 227.); but probably aiwi-sitâra stands for -csitāra, and means literally "the destroying" (cf. fa kshi, intrans. "to be ruined"). So much is certain, that aiwi is a preposition (p. 42.), and tar is the suffix used in the formation of the word (§. 144.), which is in the strong cases tar; and from this example it follows, as also from ashavan-a, that where there are more forms of the theme than one, the Zend, like the Sanscrit (see Gramm. Crit. r. 185. c.), forms the nominative, accusative, and vocative plural from the stronger theme. I refrain from adducing other examples for the remarkable and not to have been expected proposition, that the Zend, in variance from the Sanscrit, forms its plural neuters according to the principle of the Latin nomin-a, Greek τάλαν-a, Gothic namôn-a or namn-a.

for it could not be dropped, because the base-vowel and termination have been, from the first, concrete. The old length of quantity could, however, be weakened: this is the fate of long vowels especially at the end of words. cannot, therefore, be said of the Greek τὰ δώρα and the Latin dona, that the a entirely belongs to the termination. This a is an old inheritance of the oldest date, from the time when the second declension, to use the expression, This ă has since then beterminated its bases with \check{a} . come, in Greek, o or ϵ (§. 204.), in Latin, u, o, or e, and has maintained its ancient quality only in the plural neuter, and the \bar{a} , which has grown out of $\ddot{a} + \ddot{a}$, has become shortened. This a, however, in contrast with its offspring \ddot{o} , \ddot{e} , \ddot{u} , may even pass for a more weighty ending, which unites base and termination, than if $\delta\omega\rho\sigma$ or $\delta\omega\rho\epsilon$, donğ, done, stood as the plural neuter.

232. Bases in i and u may, in Zend, suppress their final vowel before the termination, and u may be suppressed and replaced by lengthening the base-vowel: thus we read in the Vend. S. pp. 46 and 48, who gara, "hills," from slowe gairi (see p. 196. Rem.†): on the other hand, p. 313 gairis (fem.). That which Anquetil (II. 268.) renders by "une action qui empêche de passer le pont, le péché contre nature," runs in the original (p. 119), who have not peché contre nature, and suppressed and perètha skyaothna ya nard-vaipaya, i.e. "the sins which stop the bridge, the actions which "; and here it is evident that anaperetha stands for anaperethm-a, for peretu means actually "bridge." But a final

^{*} Burnouf's MS. divides thus, and përëtha, which is following Olshausen (p. 6.), but with the various reading anapërëtha. I have no ground for assuming that in Zend there exists a preposition ana, "without," so that ana përëtha might mean "without a bridge"; and that përëtu would, in the singular instrumental, form përëthwa or përëtava. I suppose, therefore, that përëtu may be conjoined with the preposition a, and then the negative an have been prefixed.

u may also be retained, in the form of a semi-vowel, either pure or with Guna: the latter form I recognise in אאטעגע yâtava (Vend. S. p. 120; in Olshausen, p. 7), which can only be the plural accusative of yatu, for it stands with wow agha, "peccata;" and in the same page in Olshausen occurs a derivative of yatu in the accusative singular, viz. ferwef, ou yatumentem, "the magician," "gifted with magic" (according to Anquetil, magicien). I render, therefore, agha yatava literally by "the sins of sorcery" (Anquetil, "la magie très mauvaise"); and in Anquetil's Vocabulary is (p. 467) for yathvaim, the regular plural genitive of our base yatu, which means, therefore, "of the sorceries"; while Anquetil faultily gives it the meaning of the derivative (magiciens), and, according to his custom, takes this oblique case for a nominative. An example of a neuter plural form without Guna is at V. S. seven Indies" (Anq. II. p. 270). It has the epithet us-as!ar-a ("up-starred?") in opposition to פענישעטשאיל אין שפענשט פענער פענישעטאיל daus-astarem hendum, "to the ill-starred (?) Indies." An example, in which the suppressed termination in a u base is replaced by lengthening the final vowel, is the very frequently occurring φυψό νόμι, "goods," from γυψό νόμι.

233. The interrogative base ki (cf. quis, quid), which in Sanscrit forms only the singular nominative-accusative (neuter) for ki-m, but is elsewhere replaced by ka; whence, in Zend, pay ka-t, "what": this base, the use of which is very limited, forms in Zend the plural neuter asso ky-a; and

this form is the more important, since we still require examples which can be relied upon, in which the *i* of the base is not suppressed before the termination *a* (above, gara for gairy-a), although it may with reason be conjectured, that, in accordance with the above-mentioned hēndv-a and yâtav-a, forms also like vairy-a or vairay-a, from vairi, were in use. As in Gothic, neuter substantive and adjective bases in *i* are wanting, the numeral base THRI, "three," and the pronominal base I, "he," are very important for the neuter cases under discussion, in which they form thriy-a (thriya hunda, "three hundred") and iy-a, according to the principle of the Sanscrit monosyllabic forms, of which the *i* sound has not passed into its simple semi-vowel, but into iy; thus, in Sanscrit, fra bhiy-a, from this.

234. The Sanscrit gives, in place of the Zend-European neuter a, an इi, perhaps as the weakening of a former a (§. 6.); the final vowel of the base is lengthened, and between it and the case termination a euphonic n is placed (§. 133.); hence दानानि dânâ-n-i, वारोधि vârî-n-i, व्यूपि madhû-n-i. The bases which terminate with a single consonant—न n and र r being excepted—prefix to it a nasal, and after s and

^{*} According to a euphonic law (Gram. Crit. r. 84°.), an π n following after τ , and some other letters, is, under certain conditions, changed into π n.

[†] In the Vêdas, the ni in a bases is frequently found suppressed; e.g. faut viśvā, "omnia," from viśva. In this way the Sanscrit is connected with the Zend viśpa, viśpā-cha: but perhaps this coincidence is only external; for as the Sanscrit nowhere uses a neuter termination a, faut viśvā cannot well be deduced from viśpa + a, but can only be explained as an abbreviation of the â-ni, which likewise occurs in the Vêdas, as also yer purû, "multa," "magna," is used for ye fa purûni (Rosen's Spec. pp. 9, 10).

n the preceding vowel is lengthened; hence sife vachân-si, sinsife nâmân-i. Into relation with this i might be brought the neuter inflexion of quæ (quai) and hæ-c (haic), which stand in Latin very isolated; quæ is, however, still tolerably distant from the Sanscrit sife kâ-n-i, while it is nearly identical with the neuter dual kê, from ka+î (§. 212.). As, however, the antiquity of this dual termination is supported by the Zend, the plural form kâni stands on the other side isolated, and its age is thereby rendered doubtful; as, moreover, the Latin, in the verb, also has introduced a termination originally dual into the plural we cannot avoid recognising in the Latin plural quæ a remnant as true as possible of the Sanscrit dual kê.

235. We give here a general view of the formation of the plural nominative, and of the vocative, identical with it and the neuter accusative:

| 8. | ANSCRIT. | ZEND. | GREEK. | LATIN. | LITHUAN. | GOTHIC. |
|----|-----------|---------|--------|------------------------------|----------|---------|
| m. | vrikās, | • • • • | λύκοι, | $lup'ar{\imath}$, | wilkai, | vulfós. |
| m. | tê, | tê, | τοί, | $is-t^{\prime}\bar{\imath},$ | tie,† | thai. |
| n. | dânâ-n-i, | dála, | δῶρα, | dona, | • • • • | daura. |
| f. | jihvAs, | hizvão, | χῶραι, | te r rae, | rankos, | gibðs. |

^{*} The termination tis answers to we thas, Greek $\tau o \nu$ from $\tau o \varepsilon$, not to we that or τ ta, Greek τe . With respect to the otherwise remarkable dedeclension of qui, and of hic, which is akin to it, I would refer preliminarily to my treatise "On the influence of pronouns in the formation of words" (by F. Dümmler), p. 2.

[†] This form belongs not to the base TA ($=\pi ta$), whence, in the singular, ta-s, and nearly all the other cases; but to TIA, whence, through the influence of the i, tie has been developed (cf. p. 174, Rem.* and §. 193.); and whence, in the dative dual and plural, tie-m, tie-ms. The nominative plural is, however, without a case termination. The original form TIA corresponds to the Vêda πtya , mentioned in §. 194.; while the base πtya (πtya , see §. 55.) is fully declined in Lithuanian in the form of SZIE, and in the plural nominative, likewise without inflexion,

| | SANSCRIT. | ZEND. | GREEK. | LATIN. | LITHUAN. | GOTHIC. |
|-----|------------------|------------------|--|-----------|------------|--------------------|
| f. | tās, | tão, | ταί, | is-tae, | tas, | thós. |
| m. | patay-as, | paity-6,* | πόσι-ες, | hosť-ēs, | • • • • | ga s tei-s. |
| f. | prîtay-as, | âfrîly-8,* | πόρτι-ες, | mess'-ēs, | áwy-s, | anstei-s. |
| n. | várí-n-i, | var'-a, | ίδρι-α, | mari-a, | • • • • | • • • |
| n. | • • • • | ky-a,† | • • • • | • • • • | | ij-a. |
| f. | bhavishyanty-as, | bûshyainty-0,* | • • • • | • • • | • • • • | • • • • |
| m. | sûnav-as, | pašv-6,* | ἰχθύ-ες, | pecū-s, | ક્રપેnu-ક, | sunju-s. |
| f. | tanav-as, | tanv-å,* | πίτυ-ες, | 80cTū-8, | • • • • | handju-s. |
| n. | madhú-n-i, | madhv-a, | μέθυ-α, | pecu-a, | • • • • | • • • • |
| f. | vadhv-as, | • • • • | • • • • | • • • • | • • • • | • • • • |
| m.f | .ghv-as, | geu- s, ‡ | $\beta \delta(F)$ - $\epsilon \varsigma$, | bov-ēs, | • • • • | • • • • |

is exic. From the pronominal declension the form ie (from ia) has found its way into the declension of the adjective also: so that the base GERA, "good," forms several cases from GERIE; viz. dat. du. gerie-m for gero-m, dat. pl. gerie-ms for gera-ms, and nom. pl. gerì for gerai. This gerì appears to stand in most complete agreement with the Latin nominatives of the corresponding declension (bont, lupi); but the difference between the two languages is this, that the i of boni (for bono-i) belongs to the termination, while gerì is void of termination, and stands for gerie (analogous with tie), but this latter for gerie-i (cf. jaunikkie-i.)

^{*} See p. 163, Rem.‡

[†] To this ky-a, from ki-a, corresponds surprisingly the Latin qui-a (quianam, quiane), if, as I scarce doubt, it is a plural neuter, as quod is a singular neuter (cf. Max. Schmidt "De pron. Graco et Latino," p. 34). In the meaning "that," quia is clearly shewn to be an accusative: the meaning "because" is less apt for this case, and would be better expressed by an instrumental or an ablative; but in the singular quod we must be content to see the idea "because" expressed by an accusative. On the other hand, quo, among other meanings, signifies "whither," a genuine accusative signification in Sanscrit grammar. Without the support of quod we might conjecture that an instrumental singular had been preserved in quia, after the analogy of assample paity-a, from paiti.

[‡] We might expect gav-ô, gavaš-cha, "bovesque;" but we read geus in the Vend. S. p. 253, Z. 9, in combination with the pronominal neuters معرود بقر نظر بالله بال

| | SANSCRIT. | ZEND. | GREEK. | LATIN. | LITHUAN. | GOTHIC. |
|----|-------------------|-----------------------|---|------------|-----------|-----------|
| f. | nåv-as, | | $\nu\hat{\alpha}(F)$ - ϵ_{S} , | • • • • | | • • • • |
| f. | våch-as, | vách-ð,* | όπ-ες, | voc-ēs, | | • • • • |
| m. | bharant-as, | barĕnt-ô,* | φέροντ-ες, | ferent-ēs, | • • • • | fijand-s. |
| m. | åtmån-as, | ašman-6,* | δαίμον-ες, | sermon-ēs, | | ahman-s. |
| n. | nâmâ n-i , | nâman-a | τάλαν-α, | nomin-a, | • • • • | namôn-a. |
| m. | bhråtar-as, | bråtar-å,* | πατέρ-ες, | fratr-es, | • • • • | t |
| f. | duhitar-as, | dughdha r- ô,* | θυγατέρ-ες, | matr-es, | dugter-ės | |
| m. | dálár–as, | dâtâr-ô,* | δοτῆρ-ες, | datōr-es, | • • • • | • • • • |
| n. | vacháńs-i, | vachaṇh-a,‡ | $\epsilon \pi \epsilon(\sigma)$ -α, | oper-a, | • • • • | • • • • |

THE ACCUSATIVE.

236. The bases which end with a short vowel annex न् n in Sanscrit, and lengthen the final vowel of the base; hence, प्कान् vrikân, पतीन् patîn, सून्न sûnûn, &c. We might imagine this n to be related to the m of the singular accusative, as in the verb the termination जानि âni (1st pers. sing. imper.) has clearly proceeded from जानि âmi. The kindred dialects speak, however, in favour of Grimm's acute conjecture, that the Sanscrit n is, in the accusative plural masculine, an abbreviation of ns, which has remained entire in the Gothic—vulfa-ns, gasti-ns, sunu-ns—but has been divided in the other sister languages; since the Sanscrit, according to §. 94., has given up the latter of the two consonants, and has lengthened, as it appears, in compensa-

^{*} See p. 163. Rem. ‡

[†] The Gothic r bases annex in the plural a u, and can therefore be contrasted no further with the kindred languages. $BR\bar{O}THAR$ becomes $BR\bar{O}THRU$, whence $br\hat{o}thryu$ -s, &c., according to the analogy of sunyu-s.

[‡] Or אואס לענאס vachenha. Thus we read Vend. S. p. 127, nemenha, which, I think, must be regarded as accusative of nemo (אווי adoration"), and as governed by אואס בין אַ אַליבע berethra, " from him who brings," "from him offering."

tion for this, the final vowel of the base "; while the Greek $\lambda \dot{\nu} \kappa o \nu_{\varsigma}$ has preserved the sibilant, but has permitted the ν to volatilize to ν .† In fact, $\lambda \nu \kappa o - \nu_{\varsigma}$ has the same relation to $\lambda \nu \kappa o \nu_{\varsigma}$ that $\tau \dot{\nu} \pi \tau o \nu \sigma \iota$ has to $\tau \dot{\nu} \pi \tau o \nu \sigma \iota$, from $\tau \dot{\nu} \pi \tau o \nu \tau \iota$.‡ For $\pi \dot{\sigma} \sigma \iota - \alpha \varsigma$, $i \chi \theta \nu - \alpha \varsigma$, we could not, however, expect a $\pi \dot{\sigma} \sigma \iota - \nu \varsigma$, $i \chi \theta \dot{\nu} - \nu \varsigma$, as the Greek makes the ι and ν bases in all parts similar to the bases which terminate with a consonant, which, in Sanscrit, have as for a termination; hence $\tau \varepsilon \tau = \tau \delta \delta \alpha \varsigma$: and even in the most vigorous period of the language ns could not have attached itself to a consonant preceding. This as for ns may be compared with

^{*} Thus vrikan for vrikans; as, fagin vidvans, whence the accusative fagin vidvans-am, in the uninflected nominative fagin vidvan, ("sapiens").

[†] As the ν also passes into ι (τιθείς for τιθένς, Æolic τύψαις, μέλαις for τυψαν(τ)ς, μελανς), Hartung (l. c. p. 263.) is correct in explaining in this sense the ι in Æolic accusative forms like νόμοις, τοὶς στρατηγοίς, &c. As regards, however, the feminine accusatives like μεγάλαις, ποικίλαις, τείμαις, quoted by him, I believe that they have followed the analogy of the masculines, from which they sufficiently distinguish their gender by the α preceding the ι; we cannot, however, thence infer, that also the first and specially feminine declension had originally accusatives in νς, as neither has the Gothic in the corresponding declension an ns, nor does the Sanscrit exhibit an n (see §. 237., and cf. Rask in Vater's Tables of Comparison, p. 62).

It cannot be said that $\tau \dot{\nu}\pi \tau \sigma \nu \sigma \iota$ proceeded from $\tau \dot{\nu}\pi \tau \sigma \nu \tau \sigma \iota$, a truly monstrous form, which never existed in Greek, while the $\tau \dot{\nu}\pi \tau \sigma \nu \tau \iota$ before us answers to all the requirements of Greek Grammar, as to that of the whole base, since $o-\nu \tau \iota$ corresponds to the Sansc. anti, Zend enti, Goth. nt'; and from the singular $\tau \iota$ (Dor.), in the plural nothing else than $\nu \tau \iota$ can be expected. But to arrive at $o\nu \sigma \iota$ from $o\nu \tau \iota$ it is not requisite to invent first so strange a form as $o\nu \tau \sigma \iota$; for that $o\nu \tau \iota$ can become $o\nu \sigma \iota$ is proved by the circumstance that the latter has actually arisen from it, by the very usual transition of T into Σ , and the not rare vocalization of the N to Υ , as also in Sanscrit, in all probability, $\Xi \Xi \iota \iota \iota \iota$ has arisen from $n\iota$ (cf. p. 172. Rem.*), of which more hereafter. But if in the dative plural, indeed, $o\nu - \sigma \iota$ has arisen from $o\nu - \sigma \iota$ ($\lambda \acute{e}o\nu \sigma \iota$ not $\delta \alpha \acute{\mu} \nu \sigma \sigma \iota$),

the Ionic αται, ατο, for νται, ντο, a form which has extended from the places where the vocalization of the ν was necessary, to those also where ν might be added (πεπείθαται, τετράφαται; then, also, πεπαύαται, κεκλιάται, &c. for πέπαυνται, κέκλινται). This comparison with the 3d person plural appears to me the more in point, as, in my opinion, the n in the presupposed forms, like quit vrikans, unit patins, λύκονς, has the same object that it has in the 3d person plural; viz. allusion to plurality by extending (nasalizing) the syllable preceeding the sign of personality. The introduction of a nasal is an admixture which is least of all foreign, and comes nearest to the mere lengthening of an already existing vowel.

237. Feminine bases with a final vowel follow in Sanscrit the analogy of consonant bases; but with the suppression of the a,* thus s for as or ns; they may perhaps, too, never have had ns, for else hence would have arisen,

we must remember that the abandonment of the n before case terminations beginning with a consonant is a very old and therefore pre-greek phenomenon, which is not to be accounted for in the Greek, and wherefore no compensation is to be required for the ν , which has been dropped. But even if it were so, we must still be satisfied, if the demand for compensation for a lost ν remains unfulfilled in several places of grammar; for there are two kinds of euphonic alteration in all languages: the one, which has acquired the force of a general law, makes its appearance under a similar form on each similar occasion, while the other only irregularly and occasionally shews itself.

^{*} Monosyllabic bases only have preserved the a as the case sign in the singular nominative (§. 137.); hence, the striy-as, "feminas," square striy-as, "feminas," square bhuvas, "terras," from the stri, of the stri, of the searce a doubt that this form originally extended to polysyllabic bases also; for besides the Greek, the Zend also partly evinces this (§. 238.), as also the circumstance that in the actual condition of the Sanscrit language the accusative plural shews, in general, an inclination to weaken itself, and thus contrast itself more submissively with the imperious nominative (§. 129.).

238. Feminines with a short final vowel lengthen it, to compensate, as it appears, for the suppression of the a; thus that priti-s is formed from prity-as, and tanû-s from tanv-as. The Greek certainly presents, in this respect, only a casual coincidence, through forms in îς, ῦς, which, however, are not restricted to the feminine, and stand at the same time, in the nominative, for ι-ες, ν-ες. The Zend, like the Greek, follows in its i and u bases the analogy of the consonant terminations; hence, ψωμων paity-δ (paity-as-cha), ψωμων pasv-δ (pasv-as-cha, or, with Guna, paitay-δ, pasav-δ. In feminine bases in i, u, occur at times also the forms i-s, û-s, corresponding to the Sanscrit; as, μηλωρ gairi-s, "montes" (Vendidad S. p. 313.), μηςςεξε řežû-s, "rectas," μη μαριαμένος μετέιι-s. "pontes."

239. Masculine bases in μ a, where they are not replaced by the neuter (p. 246, Rem.), have, in the accusative, an (cf. §. 61.); as, yes iman, "hos," often occurs, yesusus mazistan, "maximos" (Vend. S. p. 65.). The sibilant is retained before the particle μν cha, and these forms can be copiously quoted; as, κνωγρης εν aměshans-cha, "non-

conniventesque"; אאטאולער manthrans-cha, "sermonesque"; ညရသည်သောသ aésmans-cha, "lignaque"; ညရသည်သည် စခန်tryans-cha, "agricolasque."* The form אטענילון אין athaurun-ans-cha, "presbyterosque" (V. S. p. 65.), is remarkable, as there is no reason elsewhere to assume a theme athauruna; and this form would accordingly shew that consonant bases also could assume the inflexion ns, with an unavoidable auxiliary vowel however; if, indeed, it is not to be thus regarded, that, in the perverted feeling of the language, it has been introduced by the preponderating analogy of the a More important, therefore, than this אטער/נוש מאט וואסער און איש מאטער athaurunans-cha are the accusatives nareus," nareus," homines," and wiffow streus, "stellas," which occur very frequently; while from Lyou dtar, "fire," we have found, not wiften Athr-eus, but \$16m Athr-8, in which it is to be remarked that dtar distinguishes itself from other words in r in this point also, that it forms, in the nominative singular, not wow ata, but whow atars. But how is the termination eus to be explained? I believe in no other way but from we ans, by changing the n into a vowel, as in λόγους; after which, according to \S . 31., the ω a has become φ e: the sibilant, however, which, after w a and w an, is w s, must, after , u, appear as ws. We find, too, in the V.S. p. 311, actually אין אין אין něr-ani in the sense of a dative: פעונפנ עמי

^{*} I formerly thought I could, through forms of this kind, quote the introduction of a euphonic s in Zend, according to the analogy of §. 95. But if this introduction cannot be proved by cases, in which no ground exists for the assumption of an original sibilant, preserved merely by the particle an cha (cf. §§. 56°. 207. 228.), then the above examples are the more important, in order to supply a fresh proof that ns is the original designation of masculine plural accusatives of themes terminating with a vowel. The superlative as from a participial nominative. Other cases, which might suggest occasion to assume, in Zend, a euphonic s after n, have nowhere occurred to me.

φρωκριν ωθους ωκυξ αθίσει at něraně mazda ahura ashaono, &c. "da quidem hominibus, magne Ahure! puris."

240. As a in Sanscrit occurs the most often of all letters as the termination of masculine bases, and we cannot mistake, in the history of our family of languages, the disposition in the sunken state of a language to introduce, by an unorganic addition, the more inconvenient consonant declension into that of the vowels, I cannot therefore think that it admits of any doubt, that the New Persian plural termination an, which is restricted to the designation of animate creatures, is identical with the Sanscrit and an in the masculine plural accusative: thus, older mardan, "homines," answers to animate, "mortales," "homines."

241. If, then, the termination of an applied to animate beings, belongs to a living being in the old language, the inanimate neuter will be fitted to give us information regarding that New Persian plural termination which is appended to the appellations of inanimate objects. suffix, used in the formation of words which is peculiarly the property of the neuter, is we as (§. 128,), which is still more frequently used in Zend than in Sanscrit. In the plural, these Zend neuters form anha or enha (§§. 56°. 235.); and with this Aa is evidently connected the lengthened b há in New Persian; thus, رزها, roz-há, "days," answers to the Zend עלייעניש raochanha, "lights." Many New Persian words have been compared with New German words, and often, too, correctly; but, except through the medium of the Sanscrit and Zend, it could not have been conjectured that our "worter" is, in respect to its termination, related to the New Persian ha. As, however, the High German has, from its earliest period, repeatedly changed s into r, and a into i (later e), I have no

^{*} Thus in Spanish the whole plural has the termination of the Latin accusative.

doubt the ir—Middle and New High German er—which makes its appearance in the plural in many Old High German neuters, is identical with the Sanscrit neuter suffix we as; e.g. hūsir, "houses," chalpir, "calves" (cf. Grimm, pp. 622 and 631).*

242. Here follows a general view of the accusative formation:

| | Sanscrit. | ZEND. | GREEK. | LATIN. | LITHUAN. | GOTHIC. |
|----|-------------------|--------------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|
| m. | vriká-n, | věhrka- ň , | λύκο-υς, | lupō-s, | wilkù- s , | vulfan-s. |
| n. | dånå-n-i, | dâta, | δῶρα, | dona, | • • • • | daura. |
| f. | jih v á-s, | hizvá-o, | χώρα-ς, | terrā-s, | rankà-s, | gib∂-s. |
| f. | tå-s, | tá-o, | τā-ς, | is-tā-s, | tà-s, | thô-s. |
| m. | pati-n, | paity-6,† | πόσι-ας, | host'-es, | | gasti-ns. |
| f. | bhiy-as, | Afrîty-6,† | πόρτι-ας, | mess'-es, | ••• | • • • • |
| f. | prîtî-s, | Afriti-s, | πόρτι-ς, | • • • • | áwy-s, | ansti-ns. |
| n. | várí-n-i, | var'-a, | ίδρι-α, | mari-a, | • • • • | |
| n. | • • • • | ky-a, | • • • | | • • • • | ij-a. |
| f. | bhavishyanti-s, | bûshyaintî-s,† | • • • • | • • • • | • • • • | • • • • |
| m. | รนิกน์-ท, | pašv-6,† | λχθύ-ας, | pecū-s, | sùnu-s, | sunun-s. |
| f. | bhuv-as, | tanv-6,† | πίτυ-ας, | • • • • | • • • • | • • • • |
| f. | tanû-s, | tanú-s, | πίτυ-ας, | socrū−s, | • • • • | handu-ns. |
| n. | madhú-n-i, | madhv-a,‡ | μέθυ-α, | pecu-a, | • • • • | |

^{*} This ir, however, is treated in declension as if the theme originally terminated in a, and would thus, in Sanscrit, be asa. Hence, compared with the dative hūsiru-m (from hūsira-m, §. 168.), the nom. accus. hūsir appears an abbreviation. But the relation of our ir to the Sanscrit as is not thereby disturbed, because, in general, most of the original consonant terminations in High German have received unorganic vowel additions. Cf. pp. 148 and 191. Rem. More regarding this hereafter.

[†] See p. 175. Rem. *.

| | SANSCRIT. | ZEND. | GREEK. | LATIN. · L | ITHUAN. | GOTHIC. |
|------|-----------------|---------------|--|------------|-----------|----------|
| f. | vadhú-s, | • • • • | • • • • | | | • • • • |
| m.f. | gå- s, * | gåu-s, | $\beta \delta(F)$ -as, | bov-ēs, | • • • • | • • • • |
| f. | náv-as, | | $v\hat{\alpha}(F)$ - α_S , | • • • • | • • • • | • • • • |
| f. | vách-as, | vách-ó,† | όπ-ας, | voc-ēs, | • • • • | |
| m. | bharat-as,‡ | barënt-6,† | φέροντ-ας, | ferent-ēs, | | • • • • |
| m. | åtman-as, | asman-0,† | δαίμον-ας, | sermon-ēs | , | ahman-s. |
| n. | námán-i, | naman-a, | τάλαν-α, | nomin-a, | | namôn-a. |
| m. | bhrátři-n,§ | bråthr-eus? | πατέρ-ας, | fratr-es, | | |
| f. | duhitri-s,§ | dughdhĕr-eus? | θυγατέρ-ας, | matr-es, | dugter-ės | , |
| m. | dâtri-n,§ | dâthr-eus? | δοτῆρ-ας, | datõr-ēs, | • • • | • • • • |
| n. | vacháńs-i, | vachanh-a, | $\epsilon \pi \epsilon(\sigma)$ - α , | oper-a, | • • • • | |

THE INSTRUMENTAL.

243. The formation of this case, and what is connected with it, has been already explained in §§. 215—224.; it is therefore sufficient to give here a comparison of the forms which correspond to one another in the kindred languages,

hacha skyaôthnā-varēza atha bavainti pēš6-tanva, "hac pro facti-peractione tum sunt verbera posteriori corpori inflicta" (Anquetil, Celui qui commet cette action sera coupable du tanafour). In regard to the anâpēretha, mentioned at §. 232., it is further to be noticed that the 6 th can only be occasioned by a of w that has been dropped (§. 47.), for the theme of the concluding substantive is 102/20 pērētu, not pērethu (Vend. S. pp. 313 and 362, twice).

^{*} Irregularly from a theme $\eta g \hat{a}$ (§. 122.), for $\eta q q$ gav-as. The Zend who gaus (also weake $g \hat{a} o s$), which often occurs, rests on the strengthened Sanscrit form $\eta g \hat{a} u$; so that in respect of the strong and weak cases (§. 129.), the relation in this word is distorted. In the nominative, for instance, we should expect whom $g \hat{a} u s$, and in the accusative which geus, rather than vice versa.

[†] See p. 163. Rem. ‡.

[‡] See §. 129.

[§] See §. 127. Rem. and §. 249. Rem. †.

As the German, in its singular dative, is identical with the Sanscrit-Zend instrumental, it is hence deducible that its character m (for b see §. 215.), in the dative plural, must rather be regarded as an abbreviation of fine bhis than as belonging to the dative-ablative termination with bhyas; although it approaches equally near to the two old terminations.

| SANSCRIT. | ZEND. | GREEK. | LATIN. | LITHUAN. | GOTH. DAT. |
|------------------------|-------------|------------|---------|------------|------------|
| m. <i>vrikê-bhis</i> , | • • • • | θεό-φιν, | vo-bīs, | • • • • | vulfa-m. |
| vrikā-is, | věhrká-is, | • • • • | • • • • | wilka-is, | • • • |
| f. jihvá-bhis, | hizvá-bîs, | • • • | • • • • | ranko-mis, | gibb-m. |
| prîti-bhis, | áfríti-bís, | | • • • • | awi-mis, | ansti-m. |
| m. sûnu-bhis, | pašu-bîs, | | | sunu-mis, | sunu-m. |
| f. nau-bhis, | • • • • | ναῦ-φιν, | • • • • | | • • • • |
| m. åtma'-bhis, | asma'-bîs, | • • • | | • • • • | ahma'-m. |
| n. nâma'-bhis, | nâma'-bîs, | • • • • | | • • • • | nama'-m. |
| n. vachô-bhis,* | vachô-bîs,* | όχεσ-φιν,* | | • • • • | • • • • |

THE DATIVE, ABLATIVE.

244. Mention has already been made of the suffix of these two cases in §. 215. Only the s of the Latin bus has been left in the first, second, and (according to Nonius) occasionally, also, in the fourth declension; for the i of lupi-s, terri-s, speci-s (for speci-bus from specu-bus), must be allotted to the base. Lupi-s stands for lupo-bus, as evinced by ambo-bus, duo-bus. From o-bus (by lightening the final vowel of the base, o, u, from an original a, §. 6.), as occurs in the beginning of compounds (multi-plex for multu-plex, or multo-plex, of which hereafter), the language arrived at i-bus, (parvi-bus, amici-bus, dii-bus, cf. Hartung, p. 261). In the first declension a-bus has been retained with tolerable

^{*} See §§. 56^b. and 128.

frequency, but the middle step *i-bus* is wanting; yet the language has scarcely made the spring from *a-bus* at once to *ī-s*, but *a-bus* has weakened the *a* of the base to *ĭ*, which, to compensate for the *bu* which has been dropped, has been lengthened; thus *terrī-s* from *terri-bus*, for *terra-bus*, as mālo from măvolo. Compare,

| SANSCRIT. | ZEND. | LATIN. | LITHUANIAN. |
|------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| m. vriké-bhyas, | vě h rkati-b y 6, | lupī-s, | wilka-m(u)s.** |
| f. jihvá-bhyas, | hizvá-byó, | terrī-s, | ranko-m(u)s. |
| m. pati-bhyas, | paiti-byô, | hosti-bus, | † |
| f. príti-bhyas, | áfríti-byð, | messi-bus, | ani-m(u)s. |
| m. bhavishyanti-bhyas, | bûshyainti-byô, | • • • | |
| m. sûnu-bhyas, | pašu-byo, | pecu-bus,‡ | sunu-m(u)s. |
| f. våg-bhyas, | våch-e-by6, | voc-i-bus, | • • • • |
| m. bharad-bhyas, | barěn-byô,§ | ferent-i-bu | 8 , |
| m. atma'-bhyas, | asma'-byô, | sermon-i-b | us, |
| m. bhråtri-bhyas, | • | fratr-i-bus | |

THE GENITIVE.

245. The genitive plural in Sanscrit, in substantives and adjectives, has the termination win am, in the Zend aim, according to §. 61. The Greek ων bears the same relation to the original form of the termination that ἐδίδων does to ween adadám (§§. 4. 10.). The Latin has, as usual,

^{*} See §. 215.

[†] The masculine i bases pass in the plural, by an unorganic increment, into a different declension. And in the dual and dative singular, also, *PATI* must be given up (Mielcke, p. 35. Rem. 1.).

[‡] I have selected the masculine base *PECU*, which occurs only in a few cases, on account of its connection with مددر paiu, and I have carried it through all the cases, and think, therefore, that I may here also give the original u-bus for the corruption i-bus.

[§] See p. 259. Rem.

preserved the labial final nasal in its original form, but by its influence has shortened the preceding vowel; hence, ped-um (=pad-dm), the u of which supplies the place of a short a, as in lupum = quapta vrikam, $\lambda \acute{v} ko - v$.* The German, like the Lithuanian, has dropped the final nasal. In Gothic, however, the πd , which has been left, shews itself under two forms, and thereby an unorganic difference has been introduced between the feminine genitive termination and the masculine-neuter; since the fuller d has remained only to the feminine d and n bases.

246. Bases ending with a vowel, with the exception, partly necessary and partly arbitrary, of monosyllables, place, in Sanscrit, a euphonic n between the termination and the base, the final vowel of which, if short, is lengthened. This interposition appears to be pristine, since the Zend partakes of it, although in a more limited degree; for instance, in all bases in w a and w a: hence, for věhrka-n-anm, for the latter correspond very remarkably the genitives (which occur in Old High German, Old Saxon, and Anglo-Saxon, in the

^{*} Regarding the termination i-um in consonant bases, and, vice versā, respecting um in places where i-um might have been expected, we refer the reader to §. 126. In adjectives the feminine character i mentioned in §. 119. may have had its effect, and may have passed over from the feminine to the other genders, according to the analogy of the Lithuanian (p. 174. Rem. †): thus the i of ferenti-um reminds us of the Sanscrit feminine with bharanti. The same is the case with the i of the neuter form ferenti-a; it is bequeathed by the deceased feminine theme FE-RENTI. On the other hand, contrary to the opinion preferred in §. 126., we must now regard the i before bus (e. g. voc-i-bus) as a conjunctive vowel, like the c e in the Zend vāch-e-by6. Here it is to be observed that those consonant bases, which admit neither i-a nor i-um, must nevertheless proceed before bus to annex an i. In the chapter upon the adjectives we shall recur to the feminine character i; and then treat also of the i for e in the singular ablative of the common dialect.

corresponding class of words) in ô-n-ô, e-n-a; hence, Old High German këpô-n-ô, Old Saxon gëbô-n-ô, Anglo-Saxon gife-n-a.

247. We find the bases in short and long i, in Zend, if polysyllabic, only with euphonic n: on the other hand the monosyllabic i bases annex the termination direct, either attaching Guna to the final vowel, or keeping it pure; thus, thray-aim, "trium," from thri; vay-aim, "avium," from vi. Bases in) u admit both of the annexing the termination direct and of the insertion of the euphonic n; but I find from the masculine) was pasu only pasv-aim: on the other hand, I have found from feminine bases like) we tame, "body,") was nain, "corpse" (cf. vékus according to §. 21.), hitherto only u-n-aim. With Guna, & was pasav-aim would serve as a prototype for the Gothic suniv-ê with Guna weakened (§. 27.).

248. Pronouns of the third person have, in Sanscrit, सान् sâm for आन् âm; and this may be the original and formerly universal form of the case-suffix, so that am would properly be only the termination of the termination, and the s connected with the genitive singular would be the chief person. If this is the case, the abbreviation of this termination in substantives and adjectives must still be recognised as very ancient; for the Gothic, which in the plural nominative restricts itself so vigorously to the old limits (§. 228.), gives to the sibilant, in the genitive also, no wider scope; hence thi-zê (§. 86. 5.) = tê-shâm (for têsâm, according to §. 21.) "horum"; thi-zo = tâ-sâm, "ha-Here the a, like the θ of the base THA, THO, appears weakened to i (§. 66.): on the other hand, the adjectives, which follow the pronominal declension, have a and o bases; ai-ze, ai-zo, and blindai-ze, "cæcorum" (for blinda-ze), answers exactly to the Sanscrit तेपाम te-sham (from tai-sam) from the base π ta. The High German has changed the old sibilant to r, as in many other places; hence, in Old High German, de-ro for thi-ze and thi-zo, of which termination only the r has remained to us. To the Latin, in like manner, belongs rum for sum (§. 22.); hence, istorum, istarum.*

249. We give here a general view of the formation of the genitive.

Sanscrit. Zend. Greek. Latin. Lithuan. Gothic. In. vrikâ-n-âm, věhrka-n-anm, $\lambda \acute{\nu} k$ - ωv , lupō-rum, wilk-û, vulf'-ê. In. n. tê-shâm, taê-shanm, τ - $\hat{\omega} v$, istō-rum, t-û, thi-zê. f. jihvâ-n-âm, hizva-n-anm, $\chi \omega \rho \acute{\alpha} - \omega v$, terrā-rum, rank'-û, këpô-n-ô.

^{*} This rum, however, has, like the property of the plural nominative (§. 228.), found its way or returned from the pronominal declension into the entire second, first, and fifth declension, which is originally identical with the latter (§§. 121 and 137.). The transplanting of the rum termination into the declensions mentioned was the easier, as all pronouns in the genitive plural belong to the second and first declension. Forms, however, remain, especially in the old languages, which evince that the language was not always equally favourable to the bringing back the termination rum (deum, socium, amphorum, drachmum, agricolum, &c.). On the other hand, the termination rum appears also to have attempted to fix itself in consonant bases, with e as conjunctive vowel, if, at least, the forms furnished by Varro and Charis-boverum, foverum, lapiderum, regerum, nucerum (Hartung, p. 255.)—are to be regarded as correct, and do not perhaps stand for bovo-rum, &c.; as also, in Zend, the base g6 may extend itself to gava. The Latin rum and Sanscrit साम sâm leads us to expect the Greek σων: this is not met with, however, even in the pronoun; so that the Greek, in this respect, stands in the strongest opposition to the Latin. The forms in α-ων, ε-ων (e.g. αὐτά-ων, αὐτέ-ων, ἀγορά-ων, αγορέων) point, however, to a consonant that has been dropped. It is a question, therefore, whether universally a Σ (cf. §. 128.), or, as the Sanscrit and Zend lead us to expect, only in pronouns a Σ , but in other words of the first and second declension an N has been dropped, as in μείζω from μείζονα. According to this, λύκων would be to be derived from λυκο-ν-ων, χαράων from χωρα-ν-ων; but των from τοσων, τάων from τασων. † Old High German, see §. 246.

| | SANSCRIT. | ZEND. | grbek. | LATIN. | LITHUAN. | COTHIC. |
|------|---------------------|---------------|--------------------------------------|-------------|------------|-----------|
| f. | tá-sám, | a-onhanm,* | τά-ων, | istā-rum, | t'-û, | thi-zô. |
| m.n. | trî-n-âm, | thray-aim, | τρι-ῶν, | tri-um, | tri-û, | thrij-ê. |
| f. | prîtî-n-âm, | åfriti-n-anm, | πορτί-ων, | messi-um, | arvi-û, | anst'-e. |
| m. | sûnû-n-am, | pašv-anm, | ἰχθύ−ων, | pecu-um, | sun`-û, | suniv-ê. |
| f. | ta nû-n-am , | tanu-n-anm, | πιτύ-ων, | socru-um, | | handiv-ê. |
| m.f. | gav-åm, | gav-anm, | $\beta o(F)$ - $\hat{\omega} \nu$, | bov-um, | • • • • | • • • |
| f. | nå-våm, | • • • • | $\nu\alpha(F)$ - $\hat{\omega}\nu$, | • • • | | |
| f. | vách-ám, | vách-anm, | όπ-ῶν, | voc-11771, | | |
| m.n. | bharat-âm, | barënt-anm,† | φερόντ-ων, | ferenti-um, | • • • • | fijand-ê. |
| m. | åtman-åm, | asman-anm, | δαιμόν-ων, | sermon-um | , akmen-û, | ahman-ê. |
| m. | bhrátri-n-ám, | bråthr-anm,‡ | πατέρ-ων, | fratr-um, | | |

^{*} This word often occurs, and corresponds to the Sanscrit Thurs a-sam "harum," "earum" (§. 56°.); from who ta, taonhaim would be expected, which I am unable to quote. The compound (polysyllabic) pronominal bases shorten the last syllable but one; hence, from Jurious al-tanhaim, not altaonhaim, as might be expected from Entere eta-sam.

[†] Or, also, ξωρυμιλω barantanm, as in the Vendidad Sade, p. 131, ξωρυμινων saochantanm, "incentium:" on the other hand, also, frequently saochentanm.

[†] This and the following genitives from bases in ar are clearly more genuine, and are more nearly allied therefore to the kindred European languages than the corresponding ones in Sanscrit, which, in this case, has shortened ar to ri, and has then treated it according to the analogy of vowels From from frequently occurs nar-anm, with retention of the a, on account of the base being monosyllabic: on the other hand, athr-anm from atar, "fire," and from tier-anm, "trium," fem. for the Sanscrit frequentieri-n-am (Gramm. Crit. r. 255.). From for the Sanscrit frequentieri-n-am dughdher-anm (cf. p. 208. Rem. †): the Codex has, however, dugder-anm (p. 472. Z. 2.). In general, in this word the readings dughdar and dughdhar are interchanged in various passages: the latter, however, is the more common.

LOCATIVE.

250. The character of the plural locative is, in Sanscrit, सु su, which is subject to be changed into पु shu (§. 21.), for which, in Zend, is found shu (§. 52.); while from \ su, according to §. 53., has been formed by hu. usual form for shu and hu (for which, also, shu and hu) is, however, which leads to a Sanscrit This appears to me to be the original form of the **₹** 800. termination; for nothing is more common in Sanscrit than that the syllables qua and qya should free themselves from their vowel, and then change the semi-vowel into a vowel, as The ukta is said for vakta (see also §. 42.). supposition, therefore, of the Indian abbreviation of the termination is far more probable than that of a Zend extension of it by a lately-added a, especially as in no other case does a similar aftergrowth admit of being esta-But if we sva is the original form of the termination, it is then identical with the reflective-possessive base wa, of which more hereafter.* The same relation which, in Latin, si-bi has to su-bi (which might be conjectured from su-i), or that ti-bi has to tu-bi, Sanscrit मुज्यम् iu-thyam, the Greek dative-locative termination or (orv) has to the Sanscrit & su.

^{*} Therefore, in Zend, the locative was stricture," is identical with was tricked, "the third part," since the pronoun in the latter compound denotes the idea of part.

[†] Regarding the termination $\iota\nu$ of the pronoun of the 1st and 2d person see §. 222. From the Æolic form $\dot{a}\mu\mu\nu\sigma\iota\nu$, quoted by Hartung (p. 260) from Apoll., I cannot infer that $\iota\nu$ is an abbreviation of $\sigma\iota\nu$: if it were so, the ν also in $\dot{a}\mu\dot{a}\nu$ would not adhere so firmly. It appears to me more suitable, therefore, to accord to the common declension an influence upon the transformation of the form of inflexion peculiar to the pronouns without gender, but of the highest antiquity; an influence which has penetrated further in $\sigma\phi\iota\sigma\iota$ for $\sigma\phi\iota\nu$.

252. Like the Gothic, the Lithuanian has an unorganic difference between the terminations which mark the case in the masculine and feminine in the genitive plural: the first has the sound of se, and the latter of sa, with the original and more powerful a, which, in the masculine, has softened into e. The ending sa is plainly from the sva, assumed to be the original form, from which it is made by rejecting the semi-vowel.

253. Here follows a general view of the Sanscrit, Zend, and Lithuanian plural locatives, with the Greek datives:—

| | SANSCRIT. | ZEND. | LITHUAN. | GREEK. |
|-------|------------------|---------------------|-----------|----------------------|
| m. | vrikê-shu, | věhrkaê-shva, | wilků-se. | λύκοι-σι. |
| f. | • | | | Ολυμπίᾶσι, χώραι-σι. |
| f. | príti-shu, | âfrîti-shva,† | áni-sa, | πόρτι-σι. |
| | _ | pašu- shv a, | | |
| m. f. | g6-sh u , | • • • • | | βου-σί. |
| f. | nau-shu, | | | ναυ-σί. |

^{*} The common termination ois, ais (oi-s, ai-s), formed by curtailing oi-oi, ai-oi, and so brought into agreement of sound with the third declension, is here lost, through its apparent connection with the Sanscrit curtailed instrumental ending the (§. 219.), which had before required consideration, because the Greek dative is also used as the instrumental.

[†] I have no authority for the locative of the Zend root in i, but it can only be analogous to that of the u root, which can be referred to in copious instances.

| SANSCRIT. | ZEND. | LITHUAN. | GREEK. |
|----------------------|-------------------------|----------|------------|
| f. vák-shu, | våc-sva? | | όπ-σί. |
| m. n. bharat-su, | b r åtar-ĕ-shva? | | φέρου-σι. |
| m. <i>Atma</i> '-su, | asma`-hva,* | • • • • | δαίμο'-σι. |
| m. bhrátri-shu, | • • • • | | πατρά-σι.† |
| n. vachas-su, | vachô-hva,‡ | | έπεσ-σι. |

^{*} Thus, in the Vend. Sade, p. 499, ມາຍາມຊຸນ) ushahoa, from ເປັນ ushan, and p. 500, ມາຍາມຮຸມພາຍ damahoa, from ເປັນພາຍ daman.

In the Vendidad Sade, p. 499., we find the analogous plural locatives where \(\sigma_{\sigma} \) usirohva, and where \(\sigma_{\sigma} \) and the latter by "a la nuit." It is impossible to pronounce these forms aught but derivatives from themes in \(\sigma_{\sigma} \) \(\delta_{\sigma} \) \(\delta_{\si

[†] The a in this form is not, as is generally supposed, a conjunctive vowel, but rests on a transposition; as ĕòpaκον for ĕòapκον, and in Sanscrit दुस्यामि drakshyûmi, " I will see," for दृष्ट्यामि darkshyûmi (Sansc. Gramm. §. 34 b.): thus πατράσι (comp. τέτρασι) for παταρσι (comp. τέσσαρσι), which, by preserving the original vowel, agrees with the Sanscrit root pitar better than πατέρα, πατέρες, &c. The same applies to the dative άρνάσι, since the thema of ἀρνός has, as appears from the cognate word ρήν, ἀρήν, ἀρόήν, rejected a vowel between the ρ and ν, which again appears in the dative plural in the form of an a, and removed from its place. The whole REN appears to be a transposition of Ner, Sanscrit at nar (ব nri), "a man," for ἀρήν properly means "male sheep." The α of ἀρνάσι is therefore etymologically identical with that of ἀνδράσι (comp. Kühner's complete Greek Grammar, §. 281. Rem. 2.). It is more difficult to give any accurate account of the a of viáo: it is either the older and stronger form for the e of viéon, or this word must have had, besides its three themas (ΥΙΟ, ΥΙ, ΥΙΕΥ), a fourth, ΥΙΛΤ, from which came viáσι, as γόνασι from TONAT, the more prevailing co-thema of TONY, which latter agrees with मानु janu.

"Remark.—From roots in EZ, to which in the dative ecou (= was as-su) properly belongs, this form appears to have imparted itself to other roots terminating differently, in which, for this case, an extension of the original theme by ϵ_S is to be adopted; which, in its origin, is identical with the above-mentioned (§. 241.) plural increase to roots by ir (from is and this, from as), in Old High German forms, as hûsir, "houses," chalpir, "calves," which are the plural themes, with which the nominative, accusative, and vocative are identical, and from which, in the dative, by the addition of the ending for that case, arises husirum, chalpirum; as, in Greek, κύνεσ-σι, νεκύεσσι, πάντεσσι, γυαίκεσσι, πολίεσσι, and others, from the unorganically increased themes KYNEZ, NEKYEZ, &c., according to the analogy of From the doubled Σ one may then be rejected (ἀνάκτεσιν, πολίεσι, μήνεσι), or the doubling of a Σ by itself be employed; as, for example, νέκυ-σσι for νέκυ-σι. This, in

with the theme west exists another, we ahar. The anomaly of the Sanscrit "day" appears, in Zend, to have passed completely over to "night," as this latter word has also a theme in n, namely csapan, of which the genitive pl. Coafnanm—analogous with THE ahnom, "dierum" (§. 40. relative to d f for d p)—is found in connection with the feminine numeral form of tieraim, "trium" (Vend. S. p 246.); for we read, l.c. §. 163., ainaimcha (= watta ahnancha), csafananmcha (read csafnanmcha), "of days and nights." In Sanscrit, by the suffix wa a, the form was ahna, altered, but equal in its meaning, has arisen out of wen ahan, which, however, occurs only in compounds (as yang purvahna, "the early part of the day"), and in the advertial dative waru ahnaya, "soon," "immediately," which, therefore, it is not necessary to deduce from the root k hnu, with the a privative. The Zend, however, whose night-nomenclature, in this respect also, is not outstripped by the Sanscrit, produces, as it appears, by a similar mutation, און און ceafna from און ceapan; whence we find the locative μ) σομικό coafné, which might also be taken for the dative of συμικός csapan,

most important particulars, is adopted by Thiersch, §. 128., for the development of the forms in $\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$; only that he withdraws from the neuter roots described in §. 128., as BEAEZ, the Σ which belongs to them, and, by a supposition, proved to be erroneous, BEAE is made the theme: and he divides forms like ὄχεσφι into ὄχε-σφι instead of ὅχεσ-φι, and, by assimilation, derives σχε-σσι from σχε-σφι; while, as I believe I have proved, the forms όχεσ-φι and όχεσσι rest on entirely different case-suffixes (§. 218.), and have only the root 'OXEZ in common with one another. An assimilation, however, may be remarked in γούνασ-σι, from γουνατ-σι, so that the first letter has assimilated itself to the second, not the reverse. In δέπασ-σι we shall leave it undecided whether the first Σ be primitive, and $\Delta E \Pi A \Sigma$ the theme (comp. $\gamma \hat{\eta} \rho \alpha \varsigma$, §. 128.), or whether it has arisen out of τ , and so ΔΕΠΑΤ with TEPAT, KEPAT, belong to one class.

csapan, but that it is preceded (V. S. p. 163.) by the unequivocal adjective locative μος και naeme (from μς και naema, "half"). Compare, also, L. c. §. 149., where שילע נענינאן באלע לענע ענינאן אולג ithra, aint, ithra, csafne, probably means "in this day," "in this night," with the locative adverb sithra, "here," in the sense of a locative demonstrative. To the theme wound coafna, the plural of the same sound coafna, might also be assigned, which occurs l. c. §§. 330. 331., and in several places elsewhere: אנגנע שניענלין שניענלין נאנגלין thrayo coafna, "three nights," nava csafna, "nine nights," if here csafna be not, as in §. 231. R. * it was considered to be, the plural of אטעגעפען ceapan, rather taken for the neuter, as, as has been before observed, the Zend uses the gender of the substantive with great laxity, especially in the plural. For the frequently-occurring ablative powlud comparât, however, we cannot assume another theme csapara, but we must, if the reading be correct, admit that feminine consonant roots in the ablative adopt also the more ample ending, at for at.

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however, in all these forms, we allow only or or our to be the case-suffix, and all that precedes it is referred to the true or unorganic increased root, it can therewith not be denied that not even to Homer himself, in forms like ἔπεσσι, not to mention unorganic forms like κύνεσσι, did the entire εσσι present itself as pertaining to that which marked the case; for in the feeling of the speaker execute could present itself, during that period of the language, only as what it is, namely, as έπεσ-σι, while έπεσος, έπεσι, plural έπεσα and not έπεος, &c. were used in declination. But different from what has been here adopted is the assumption of Hartung (p. 260, ff.) and Kühner (l. c. §. 255. R. 8.), in the most material points following Greg. Cor. Æol. §. 35., relative to the production of the Greek plural datives. Kühner says (l. c.) "The character of the dative plural is es (character of the plural) and ι or $\iota\nu$ (character of the dative singular), therefore, $e\sigma_l(\nu)$." I, however, think ϵ_{ς} not the character of number, but of the nominative plural, and connected with the nominative singular through its Σ : a union of the plural nominative suffix with the singular dative is, to me, not to If it were so, how could neuter nouns, to be imagined. which es in the nominative is quite foreign, arrive, in the dative, at their identity of form with the natural sexes? It further deserves to be remarked, that, in Prakrit, the locative ending su frequently assumes an Anusvâra, and so adapts itself, by the form is sun, for su, to the Greek σιν, for_σι.

254. After laying down the laws of the formation of a single case, it may serve to facilitate the general survey if examples are adduced of the most important classes of words in their connected declension. We pass over here from the Sanscrit, and go to the other languages in their order, according as they have, in the particular cases, most truly preserved their original form; and where one or other of them has departed entirely from the original

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principle of formation, or by an unorganic increase to the root has entered the province of another declension, we there, in the place in question, exclude it from the comparison.

MASCULINE BASES IN a, GREEK IN o, LATIN IN u, o.

SINGULAR.

Nominative, Sanscrit vṛika-s, Lithuanian nilka-s, Zend vĕhrk-ô, with cha, vĕhkas-cha, Greek λύκο-ς, Latin lupu-s, Gothic vulf'-s.*

Accusative, Sanscrit vrika-m, Lithuanian wilka-n, Zend věhrkě-m, Greek λύκο-ν, Latin lupu-m, Gothic vulf'.

Instrumental, Sanscrit vṛikê-ṇ-a, Zend vĕhrka, Gothic Dat. vulfa, Lithuanian Instr. wilkù.

Dative, Sanscrit vrikâya, Zend věhrkâi, Lithuanian wilkui.

Ablative, Sanscrit vrikā-t, Zend věhrkā-t, Latin lup-o(d) (see §. 181.).

Genitive, Sanscrit vṛika-sya, Greek λύκο-(σ)ιο[†], Zend vĕhrka-hê, Gothic vulfi-s, Lithuanian wilkō.

^{*} The meaning is, in all these languages, the same, and so is the theme in its first origin. The connection of the Lithuan. wilkas with vrikas rests on the very usual interchange of the senti-vowels r and l; and this latter goes through the whole of the Europeanister languages. The Gothic vulfs shews, moreover, the equally common interchange of gutturals and labials, and follows the rule for the alteration of letters (Asp. for Tenuis, see §. 87.). In Latin the same thing takes place with regard to the supply of the guttural by the corresponding labial; but lupus is further altered through the loss of the commencing letter V, as is the Greek $\lambda \acute{\nu} \kappa o_{-\varsigma}$: it may, however, be assumed, that this v is introduced into the middle of the word in being vocalized into u. While therefore, in Lithuanian, in wilkas, l and k are united, they are, in Greek, separated by v.

[†] M. Reimnitz, whose pamphlet, "The System of Greek Declension"

Locative, Sanscrit vrikê (from vrika + i), Zend věhrkê

(maidhyôi, §. 196.), Lithuanian wilké, Greek

Dat. λύκω (οἴκοι §. 195.) Latin Gen. lup'-ī.

Vocative, Sanscrit vrika, Zend věhrka, Lithuanian wilke,

Greek λύκε, Latin lupe, Gothic vulf.

DUAL.

Nom.Acc.Voc. Sanscrit vrikāu, Vêda vrikā, Zend věhrkā. Lith. Nom. wilkù, Voc. wilku, Greek λύκω.

Instr. Dat. Abl. Sanscrit vrikā-bhyām, Zend věhrkaêi-bya, Greek
Dat. Gen. λύκο-ιν, Lithuanian Dat. wilka-m
(see §. 215.).

Gen. Loc. Sansc. vrikay-6s, Zend věhrkay-6 (see Rem. 1.).

PLURAL.

Nom. Voc.

Sanscrit vrikas, Gothic vulfos.*

Accusative,

Sanscrit vrika-n, Zend věhrka-n, Goth. vulfa-ns,

Greek λύκο-υς (from λύκο-νς, §. 236.), Lithu-

anian wilkù, Latin lupō-s.

Part of this book, unfolds (l. c. p. 122. passim) the same views concerning the Greek oto and its connection with the Sanscrit a-sya which I have, without being aware of his concurrence, brought forward in §. 189. I have, however, in this respect, already stated my views in my pamphlet "On the Demonstrative and the Origin of Case" (in the Transactions of the Hist. Phil. Class of the Academy of Science of Berlin for the year 1826, p. 100. Here I have only further to observe, that the Greek adj. δημόσιος, from the root ΔΗΜΟ, is, in the suffix by which it is formed, probably connected with the genitive ending in the text; and is therefore remarkable with reference to the preservation of the s, which is lost in δήμοιο. With regard to the origin of δημόσιος from the genitive, let reference be made to the Latin cujus, a, um; and the identity of the Sanscrit suffix of words like and manushya, "man," as a derivative from Manu, with the genitive ending whya for Eq. as in way anu-shya, "illius."

* With reference to the Zend, see §. 231. Rem. ‡; and with regard to the Greek, Latin, and Lithuanian forms $\lambda \delta \kappa o_i$, lupi, wilkai, see §. 228.

Instrumental, Sanscrit vrikā-is* (from vrikā-bhis), Vêda vrikē-bhis, Zend vĕhrkā-is, Lithuanian wilka-is, Prakrit dêvê-hin (from dêva, "God," see §. 220.), Greek θεό-φιν, Gothic Dat. Instr. wulfa-m (§. 215.).

Dat. Abl. Sanscrit vriké-bhyas, Zend věhrkaéi-byé, Latin lupi-s (amici-bus §. 244.), Lithuanian wilka-m(u)s (§. 215.).

Genitive, Sanscrit vrikā-n-ām, Zend věhrka-n-aim, Greek λύκ'-ων, Lithuanian wilk'-û, Gothic wulf'-ê, Latin lupō-rum (§. 248.).

^{*} I take the liberty, in order to separate the root and termination, to divide the diphthongs, as above in $\lambda \hat{\nu} \kappa_0 - \nu_s$; therefore one must here pronounce *vrikāis*, and in Lithuanian *wilkais*, not as trisyllables but as dissyllables.

[†] I have remarked at §. 217., but only as a conjecture, that the ending φιν in the plural is perhaps identical with the Sanscrit fine, and the thence-derived Prakrit fe hin, and the Latin bis in nobis, vobis; and I will not advance more than a conjecture here, also, in comparing θεό-φιν with deve-hin. This only is certain, that with the syllable for bhi, which in Sanscrit, lies at the bottom of the case-forms भिस् bhis, अपम् bhyam, and σημ bhyâm, as their common root (see §. 215. passim), the Greek φι and $\phi_{i\nu}$ is also to be associated. I here willingly agree with M. Ag. Benary (Berl. Ann. July 1833, p. \$1.), that $\phi_{i\nu}$ might be formed from the ending της bhyam (§. 222.) by the contraction of η into i (as in ἡμῖν, ἐμίν, retv, &c. §. 222.). The third possible supposition would be the derivation from the usual dative-ablative plural termination भ्यस् bhyas; again with the corruption of s to ν , as in the 1st person plural $\mu \in \nu$ from $\mu \in S$, and in the 2d and 3d person rov, rov from wat thas, na tas. The fourth possible case would be the derivation from the dual termination any bhyam (§. 222.), and the changing this number of restricted plurality to that of unlimited plurality. I prefer, however, to consider $\phi_{i\nu}$ (ϕ_i) as from one of the multifarious terminations of the Sanscrit plural belonging to all declensions ; querefore, from जिस् bhis or भास् bhyas:

Locative, Sanscrit vrikê-shu, Zend věhrkaê-shva, Lithuanian wilkůse, Greek Dat. λύκοι-σι.

NEUTER BASES IN a, GREEK o, LATIN u, o.

SINGULAR.

Nom. Acc. Sanscrit dâna-m, Zend dâtě-m, Latin donu-m, Greek δῶρο-ν, Lithuanian géra, Gothic daur'.

Vocative, Sanscrit dâna, Zend dâta, Gothic daur'.

The rest as the masculine.

DUAL.

Nom. Acc. Voc. Sanscrit dânê (from dâna + i), Zend dâtê. The rest as the masculine.

PLURAL

Nom. Acc. Voc. Sanscrit dáná-n-i, Vêda dáná, Zend dáta, Latin dona, Greek δῶρα, Gothic daura.

The rest as the masculine.

"Remark 1.—The Zend system of declension has obtained some valuable additions from the treatises published by Burnouf since the appearance of the First Part of this book, which I must lay before my readers." First a dual case, viz. the genitive-locative, which I imagined to be lost in the Zend, as I had searched for it alone in vain, and could supply all the other dual endings in tolerable copiousness. M. Burnouf supplies this (Yasna, Notes et éclaircissements, p. cxxII.) by the expressions by which are to be twice found in V. S. p. 312, and on both occasions are rendered by Anquetil, whose

^{*} First, a review of this Part in the Journal des Savans, which refers particularly to the Zend; then the First Part of the First Volume of a Commentary on the Yaçna; lastly, a disquisition in the Nouveau Journal Asiatique, "Sur les mots Zends et Sanscrits Vahista et Vasichta, et sur quelques superlatifs en Zend."

translation is in this place particularly confused, "dans ce monde." This translation might lead us astray so much the more easily, that \(\psi \) anhvô, according to \\$. 187., might also be the singular genitive, which frequently occurs with a locative meaning. We await the elucidation which Neriosingh's Sanscrit translation will give of this passage; but, for the present, content ourselves with the inferences deduced by Burnouf. על נעלט, ubôyô, according to that authority, corresponds with the Sanscrit उभयोस ubhayôs (amborum, in ambobus), with ô for a, probably, according to Burnouf's acute conjecture, through the influence of the preceding b, and with the loss of the concluding s. I am the more inclined to assent to Burnouf's opinion regarding the origin of the first of of whole, uboyo, as I have been so fortunate as to find another example for the hitherto missing dual case, in which فددو ayô, not ψυν δυβ, actually occurs; because, that is to say, no letter exercising the force of assimilation in question precedes the a—I mean the form ψυνικουνιζ zaštayô (=Sanscrit hastayos), "in the hands," from אנטטא zasta, in a passage of the Izeschne, which has perhaps not yet been examined by M. Burnouf (V. S. p. 354.): פעטע ענאשג פרע א פנע אין ψημουμς kathā ashāi drujem dyanm zastays,* which Anquetil (p. 192.) translates by "Comment moi pur, mettrai-je la main sur le Daroudj?" It appears, however, that surgus ashāi can as little be a nominative as ψιμφων zaštayô a singular accusative; and I believe I am not wrong in the following literal translation: "How can I give the (Dæmon) Drudsch into the hands of the pure (into the power)?"

"Remark 2.—In the instrumental singular M. Burnouf admits the termination ana in roots in a (Yaçna, p. 98. passim), with n introduced, for the sake of euphony,

^{*} The Codex has faultily هريع asâi and چريع drojem.

according to the analogy of the Sanscrit रन éna (§. 158.). He rests this, among other forms, on that of want maesmana, "urina," a word which had often attracted my attention, and from which I, in like manner, would have deduced instrumentals in a-n-a if I had not differed from Burnouf in the etymology of the same, as I make its theme terminate in n; and this word, which I remember to have seen only in the instrumental, I derive from the Sanscrit root मिह mih, "mingere," by a suffix मन् man, according to the analogy of אול baresman, from אול baresman, from אול baresman, from אול vrih, "to grow," whose instrumental אולי barësmana, analogous with אמשטען maêsmana, occurs very fre-M. Burnouf appears, on the other hand, to quently. adopt a suffix ma in the word maesmana, in which we think we cannot agree with him as long as we cannot supply any cases which must indubitably belong to a theme in a. If, further, some words, which in their theme terminate in ww as (५, Sanscrit जस as), adopt ana in the instrumental form—M. Burnouf quotes, p. 100 note, אנצעועה mazana, אונגעונגע איז איז אינגעונגע vanhana; still, in my opinion, bases in a may be assigned as the origin of these forms, and they can be divided maza-na, &c., only in as far as such forms have been already proved to belong to undoubted bases in a. But now we prefer dividing them mazan-a, so that the letter s, with which these themes originally terminate, is interchanged with a nasal, just as, in Sanscrit, the words यक्त yakrit, शक्त śakrit, change their t for n in the weak cases, and can substitute यकन् yakan, शकन् śakan; or as, in more remote analogy, the Greek, in the first person plural, has made $\mu \epsilon \nu$ from $\mu \epsilon \varsigma$ (we make the first person plural, has made $\mu \epsilon \nu$ from $\mu \epsilon \varsigma$ Besides this, M. Burnouf cites also the interrogative instrumental euge kana, "with what?" which is the only word that brings to my mind somewhat of conviction, and had struck my attention before, in passages like wywsuc uzuc uzug kana yazna yazanê, "with

what offering shall I sacrifice?" (V. S. p. 481.) I have not, however, ventured to draw a grammatical deduction from this form, because the pronominal bases are prone to unite with one another, and because I believed I might assume that the same pronoun which is contained in अन ana and en ena forms also the last element of פענע kana, if from this base the instrumental only had been produced or preserved, as has also occurred in the Sanscrit चन ana and एन êna in but a few cases. For the rest, the Greek κείνος also appears connected with this eugl kana, if it is looked upon as a theme, with which the instrumental must agree in sound, for κεῖνος, if not directly of interrogative meaning, is still plainly connected with the old interrogative root (comp. क्यन kaśchana, "whoever."). Under these circumstances I cannot yet admit of any instrumentals in a-n-a, especially as also the bases in i and u (in which the Sanscrit in the masculine and neuter likewise introduces a euphonic n) in the Zend, in words which we have considered as receiving a similar insertion (§. 160.). In another place (Journal des Savans), M. Burnouf deduces the frequently-occuring instrumental אניבוענע ashaya, "with purity," from the masculine theme אנטבט asha; and there would be accordingly אנגאנגע ashaya, an instrumental form, at present standing alone in the Zend, which I hesitate to acknowledge, although it would be analogous to the Vêda form mentioned in §. 158., स्वमया svapnaya, if one derives this, with the Indian grammarians, But if instrumental forms of from a theme en svapna. this kind, in the Vêdas or in the Zend, are not to be produced in other undoubted instances, as in the case of adjectives in construction with masculine or neuter substantives, nothing prevents the assumption, that the form खप्रया svapnaya belongs to a feminine theme खप्रा svapna, especially as the suffix π na occurs also in other abstracts in the feminine form $\pi 1$ nd, and so can be deduced with "with thirst." In every case I think I may deduce the Zend assays from a feminine theme were asha, as the Zend in general, in the substantive, passes readily from one sex to the other; and, for example, with a masculine root as maithra, "a speech," occurs, also, a feminine wife maithra.

"Remark 3.—For the genitive ending ww he there exists, as Burnouf has most satisfactorily proved, also a form nearer to the Sanscrit sya, viz. which, which, although tolerably rare in comparison with the more corrupt form he, is still sufficiently frequent in some chapters of the Izeschne to satisfy one perfectly of its signification, according to the proofs given by Burnouf. I also had remarked words with the ending العردس hya, but in passages where Anquetil's translation was little adapted to bring to light the genitive nature of the same, which, besides, was very much obscured through its usual representative שיט he, and was, moreover, concealed from under the appearance of an instrumental form. However, the termination hyd-for which is sometimes found, also, wyd—approaches so very near to the Sanscrit eq sya, and agrees with it so precisely according to rule, as far as the unorganic lengthening of the a, that a single passage, with the accurate translation of Neriosingh, who, in the passages hitherto edited, follows the original word by word, would have led us to it. passage is given, although with a different aim, by Burnouf in his Yasna (Notes, p. cxxxix.), which we here annex, as it is interesting in other respects, also, for grammar:braim suggem andm nathracem proplessing brain ashahya paourvyo kasna kheng strencha dat adhvanem. riosingh translates this passage word for word, only that he renders kašná, "which man?" (here properly not more

than "who," for the idea of man is lost in the general signification of the whole,) not by को ना kô nå, but simply by को kô, as follows: को जनने: पिता पुरुषस्य प्रथमं कः सूर्यस्य तारकानाच ददी पदवीम् kô jananêh pitâ punyasya prathaman* (किरु सद्यापारावङ कम् चन्ने kila sadvyāpāratvan kaś chakré, i.e. "boni originem quis fecit?") kah sûryasya târakânâncha dadâu padavim (क्लि मार्गन् तेषाङ् को ददौ kila mårgan tëshån kö dadåu, i.e. "viam ipsis quis dedit?"). We translate from the Zend, "Quis (qualis vir) creatione pater est puritatis (or puri) primus? quis (qualis vir) soli stellisque dedit viam?" Zend expression woods zanthwa, for which, in the lithographed codex, p. 351, is erroneously given with zaitha, is plainly the instrumental of يديوهر zantu; which would correspond to the theme of a Sanscrit infinitive, अनुम् jantum, as the latter is feminine, and to which I have, in another place, referred the ablative puodicy zanthvat (Gramm. This form is, besides, remarkable on this Crit. p. 253.). account, viz. because it is identical with the Sanscrit instrumental gerund, which, from जन jan, without a conjunctive vowel and without the euphonious suppression of the न् n, would sound जनवा jantva. With regard, however, to the length of the concluding a of the Zend form, which is preserved contrary to the prevailing rule (see §§. 118. 158. and 160. p. 178, where, however, שעש janthwa is to be read for zanthwa), I do not attach any particular importance to that, because in the chapter from which this passage is taken a, originally short, is repeatedly to be found lengthened. The Sanscrit जनने: jananeh, with which Neriosingh translates the Zend instrumental case, must be considered as an ablative, as this case often enters the department of the instrumental, and is also capable of expressing

^{*} Perhaps the adverb **num** prathaman, "primum," is a corruption for **num**: prathaman, "primus," which answers to the original, and is to be expected from the sense.

the preposition "through" (for example, Nal. XII. 89.). Considered as a genitive, जनने: jananéh would not correspond with wood zanthwa, which cannot possibly be a genitive, for the genitive of אנענאָסן zantu could only be אנענאָסן און zanteus, or, also, bootogic zanthwo, or bound zantavô (see §. 187.), but in no case wood zanthrod. Add to this, also, that जननि janani is feminine, like the Zend צעעאָסן zantu, and पुरुषस्य punyasya, therefore, could no more pass as the epithet of जनने: jananéhi than, in Zend, шээшхэх ashahya could pass as the epithet of woods zanthrod. I will, however, as concerns the Zend, lay no great stress on this circumstance, since in it the genders of the substantive are constantly M. Burnouf, who looks upon जनने: jananéh as a genitive, and refers years punyasya to it, according to this interpretation justly takes objection to the years punyasya, which does not agree with the gender of safajanani, but he confirms, however, the reading expressly by the addition of His translation runs, "Quel est le premier père de la creation pure? qui a montré leur route au soleil et aux astres." I look with anxiety for M. Burnouf's further explanation of this passage, but expect from him rather information of value in other respects, than to find that he has succeeded in making the forms जनने: jananéh and woodsky zanthwa Anquetil's traditionary interpretation pass for genitives. sounds, in this place, very strange, but does not contradict my apprehension of wood zanthwa: he makes the genitive wysukus ashahya pass for the nominative, and does not, therefore, throw any light on the meaning of the termination שנגשג hya; for, in the presumption that it was right, wywwxxxx ashahya might, perhaps, have next been taken for an instrumental, and perhaps have been translated "father with purity." His translation is as follows: "Quel est le premier père pur qui a engendré? qui a donné

^{*} In other places (V. S. p. 385.) Anquetil renders (p. 137) the words

de lui même les astres qui ne sont pas a deux faces?" sun is here quite left out of the question; and it must be acknowledged, that, as far as relates to etymology, it is very much obscured in this passage: we might identify, with reference to the form of oxyge kheng, this expression with the reflective pronoun ww kha (as in kha-dáta, "created of itself," which is often said of the stars, as of selfcreated lights), and consider it as the epithet of שנאילין stren-cha; so that it would correspond as accusative plural to the Sanscrit खान् svan. It is here to be remarked, that in some chapters of the Izeshne, ow ng is repeatedly found instead of a simple nasal, and, indeed, without regard to the organ of the following initial letter. So we read, in the V. S. p. 391, ρως σωνωσυμμος dushacsathreng,† ομεισφυιμουμο dusskyabthneng, ομεικυμουρο dushdaeneng. Anquetil, indeed, renders these expressions as singular nominatives, "that wicked king, who does ill, being attached to the bad law"; but they, together with refer to the plural ψων» φε² dregvato, and I have no doubt of their accusative nature: the whole passage, however, like many others in the Izeshne, can be explained only with the help of Neriosingh's Sanscrit translation. We can but regret that the in other respects highly valuable exactness of Burnouf's excellent Commentary leaves us no hope that he will come very soon to the elucidation of this and other passages, regarding which I am most curious. But to return to our experse kheng,

^{*} The lithographed MS. has pyieldwards dusa ceathreng as two words; the a is, however, clearly only a conjunctive vowel, to unite the prefix aush more conveniently with the following with ce.

the wh makes no difficulty in this expression, even in its acceptation for the sun, for which, commonly, שאנגלם hvarě is found (the Sanscrit ex svar, "heaven,"), as we kh is used very frequently for »w hv (see §. 35.); but we might here expect to find guy khare, and may suppose that the p_{yy} ng has arisen out of n, and this latter out of r, as these liquids are easily interchanged, as is shewn in Sanscrit, by the connection of चहन ahan, "day," with चहर ahar, and, in the Zend, that of ששעשען csapan, "night," with אטטעעט csapar (I write it thus, and not באטעעטט csapare, designedly, see §. 44.). At all events I take οχυςνο kheng to be the accusative, if, indeed, it may not also be conjectured that the base June hvar may have entirely lost its r, and that it may be ower kheng for few khem, the accusative of a base μω kha. μημέρω ŝtren-cha, also, according to my opinion, is the accusative, and not, as one might expect from the Sanscrit translation, the genitive plural, which more frequently occurs in the form form Although, from this, we found it easily be formed by contraction and combination with we cha, I nevertheless prefer acknowledging in whys for strencha, a secondary form of without strews, explained in §. 239.; so that the nasal, here vocalized to u, is there retained, but the sibilant has been removed (comp. §. 239.); especially as, in other places also, we da is found in construction with the accusative of the person, which has been In the Zend expression, fe,we adhvanem, the Sanscrit जञ्चानम् adhvanam cannot fail to be observed (comp. §. 45.); but in the lithographed MS. we have in stead of this, fewwys advanem, which is easily seen to be This false reading appears, nevertheless, to be an ancient one, and widely diffused; and upon this is founded Anquetil's, or rather his Parsi teacher's, interpretation, which is strangely at variance with Neriosingh's exposition: "qui ne sont pas a deux faces," so that wa is

taken for the well-known privative particle, as dva as the number two, and the last portion finds in the Sanscrit **पानन** ånana, "countenance," its corresponding syllable.

FEMININE BASES IN \hat{a} , GOTHIC \hat{a} (§. 118.).

Nominative, Sanscrit dharā,* Greek χώρā, Lithuanian ranká, Zend hizva, Gothic giba, Latin terra.

Accusative, Sansc. dharā-m, Latin terra-m, Zend hizva-nm, Greek χώρā-ν, Lith. ranka-n, Goth. giba.

Instrumental, Sanscrit dharay-a, Zend hizvay-a, Gothic Dat. Instr. gibai (§. 161.), Lithuanian rankà.

Dative, Sansc. dharây-âi, Zend hizvay-âi, Lith. ranka-i.

Ablative, Zend hizvay-at, Latin terra(d).

Genitive, Sanscrit dhardy-ds, Zend hizvay-do, Greek $\chi \omega \rho \bar{a}$ - ς , Latin $terr\bar{a}$ -s, Lithuanian $rank \delta$ -s, Gothic $gib \delta$ -s.

Locative, Sanscrit dharay-am (§. 202.), Zend hizvay-a, Lithuanian ranko-ye (§. 197.).

Vocative, Sanscrit dharé, Zend hizvé (?), Greek χώρα, Latin terra, Lithuanian ranka, Gothic giba (?).

DUAL.

Nom. Acc. Voc. Sanscrit dharê, Zend hizvê (§. 213.), Lithuanian Nom. rankî, Voc. ránki.

Instr. Dat. Abl. Sanscrit dhará-bhyám, Zend hizvá-bya, Greek Dat. Gen. χώρα-ιν, Lith. Dat. ranko-m (§. 215.).

Gen. Loc. Sanscrit dharay-os.

^{*} Means "earth," and is probably connected with the Greek χώρα, as aspirates are easily interchanged (Buttmann, §. 16. Rem. 1.). The root is y dhri (y dhar, §. 1.), "to stop," "carry"; whence, also, y dhârâ, which, by reason of the long vowel of its root, approaches nearer the Greek χώρα (§. 4.), although it does not signify earth.

 $[\]dagger$ Without being able to support this case in Zend roots in a, I still have no doubt of the genuineness of the above form, since I can prove it by other relative case terminations.

Vocative,

FEMININE BASES IN i.*

SINGULAR.

Nominative, Sanscrit prîti-s, Zend âfrîti-s, Greek πόρτι-ς, Latin turri-s, Lithuanian ani-s, Gothic anst'-s, Sanscrit prîti-m, Latin turri-m, Zend afrîtî-m. Accusative, Greek πόρτι-ν, Lithuanian ámi-n, Gothic anst'. Instrumental, Sanscrit prity-a, Zend afrithy-a, Gothic Dat. Instr. anstai (without case suffix, see §. 161.). Dative, Sanscrit prîtay-ê (or prîty-âi, §. 164.), Zend afrîte-ê. Zend áfrítói-t, Latin turri-(d). Ablative, Sanscrit prite-s (or only with the feminine Genitive, termination prity-as), Gothic anstai-s, Zend afritoi-s, Greek πόρτι-ος, φύσε-ως, Lat. turri-s. Sanscrit prit-au (or with the feminine termi-Locative, nation only prity-am).

DUAI..

Sanscrit prîtê, Zend âfrîti, Greek πόρτι.

Nom. Acc. Voc. Sanscrit prîtî, Zend âfrîtî(?), Lithuanian Nom. awî, Voc. áwi.

[†] Differing from what is stated in §. 164. p. 181, it is now my opinion that the ξ e in we consider a frite does not represent the λ a of the original form what is a fritage, but is the contraction of a and y; as, for instance, in the Prakrit stance, from stance, from stance, in the Prakrit stance, and is more properly used to represent the latter than another vowel. With regard to the Lithuanian, see p. 218. Rem. †.

Instr. Dat. Abl. Sanscrit prîti-bhyâm, Zend âfrîta-bya, Greek Gen. Dat. πορτί-ο-ιν, Lithuanian Dat. áwi-m (§. 215.).

Gen. Loc. Sanscrit prîty-ôs, Zend âfrîthy-ô (?) (see p. 276. Rem. 1.).

PLUBAL.

Nom. Voc. Sanscrit prîtay-as, Zend âfrîthy-ê (with cha und âfrîthy-as-cha), Greek πόρτι-ες, Latin turr'-ēs, Gothic anstei-s, Lithuanian ány-s.

Accusative, Sanscrit prîtî-s, Zend âfrîtî-s, Greek πόρτῖ-ς, Gothic ansti-ns, Lithuanian άνου-s.

Instrumental, Sanscrit prîti-bhis, Zend âfrîti-bîs, Lithuanian ani-mis, Gothic Dat. Instr. ansti-m (§. 215.).

Dat. Abl. Sanscrit prîti-bhyas, Zend âfrîti-byô, Latin turri-bus, Lithuanian awi-m(u)s (§. 215.).

Genitive, Sanscrit prîtî-n-ām, Zend āfrîti-n-anm, Latin turri-um, Greek πορτί-ων, Lithuanian ami-û, Gothic anst-ê.

Locative, Sanscrit prîti-shu, Zend âfrîti-shva (or âfrîti-shu), Lithuanian âvi-sa, Greek Dat. πόρτι-σι.

NEUTER BASES IN i. singular.

Nom. Acc. Voc. Sanscrit vāri, Zend vairi, Greek ἴδρι, Latin mare.

The rest like the masculine.

DUAL.

Nom. Acc. Voc. Sanscrit vari-n-i.

The rest like the masculine.

PLURAL.

Nom. Acc, Voc. Sanscrit várí-n-i, Zend vár'-a, Greek ἴδρι-α, Latin mari-a, Gothic thriy-a (from THRI, "three").

The rest like the masculine.

MASCULINE BASES IN u.

SINGULAR.

Nominative, Sanscrit sûnu-s, Gothic sunu-s, Lithuanian sunù-s, Zend paŝu-s, Latin pecu-s, Greek βότρυ-ς.

Accusative, Sanscrit sûnu-m, Latin pecu-m, Zend paŝû-m, Greek βότρυ-ν, Lithuanian sunu-n, Gothic sunu.

Instrumental, Sanscrit sûnu-n-â (Vêda prabâhav-â, from prabâhu, §. 158.), Zend pašv-a, Gothic Dat. Instr. sunau.

Dative, Sanscrit sûnav-ê, Zend pašv-ê, Lithuanian sunu-i.

Ablative, Zend paŝaô-t, Latin pecu-(d).

Genitive, Sanscrit sûnô-s (from sunau-s), Gothic sunau-s, Lithuanian sunaù-s, Zend paŝeu-s or paŝv-ô (from paŝv-aŝ), Latin pecû-s, Greek βότρυ-ος.

Locative, Sanscrit sûn'-au.

Vocative, Sanscrit sûnδ (from sunau), Gothic sunau, Lithuanian sunaù, Zend pasu, Greek βότρυ.

DUAL.

Nom. Acc. Voc. Sanscrit sûnû, Zend pasu, Lithuanian Nom. sunù, Voc. súnu.

Instr. Dat. Abl. Sanscrit sûnu-bhyâm, Zend paŝu-bya, Greek βοτρύ-ο-ιν, Lithuanian sunu-m (§. 215.)

Gen. Loc. Sanscrit sûnv-ôs, Zend pašv-ô (see p. 276. Rem. 1.).

PLURAL.

Nom. Voc. Sanscrit sûnav-as, Greek βότρυ-ες, Zend paŝv-ô (with cha, paŝvaŝ-cha), Latin pecū-s, Gothic sunju-s (for suniu-s, from sunau-s, §. 230.), Lithuanian sùnu-s.

Instrumental, Sanscrit sûnu-bhis, Zend pasu-bîs, Lithuanian sunu-mis, Gothic Dat. Instr. sunu-m (§. 215.).

Genitive, Sanscrit sûnû-n-âm, Zend pasv-anm, Latin

pecu-um, Greek βοτρύ-ων, Gothic suniv-ê, Li-

thuanian sun'-û.

Locative, Sanscrit sûnu-shu, Zend pašu-shva (or pašu-

shu), Lithuanian sunu-se, Greek Dat. βότρυ-σι.

Remark.—Feminine bases in u in Sanscrit differ in declension from the masculine, exactly as, p. 305., भीत priti f. differs from जिन agni m.

NEUTER BASES IN u.

SINGULAR.

Nom.Acc.Voc. Sanscrit madhu, Zend madhu, Greek $\mu \acute{e}\theta \upsilon$, Latin pecu, Gothic faihu.

The rest like the masculine.

DUAL.

Nom. Acc. Voc. Sanscrit madhu-n-i.

The rest like the masculine.

PLUBAL.

Nom. Acc. Voc. Sanscrit $madh\hat{u}$ -n-i, Zend madhv-a, Greek $\mu \acute{e} \theta v$ - α , Latin pecu-a.

The rest like the masculine.

FEMININE BASES IN 1.

SINGULAR.

| | Sanscrit. | | Zend | |
|--------|----------------|----------------------------|------------------|--|
| Nom. | narî, "woman," | bhí-s, "fear," | ndiri, " woman." | |
| Accus. | nārī-m, | bhi y -a m , | narirî-m. | |
| Instr. | nåry-å, | bhiy-å, | náiry-a. | |
| Dat. | nåry-ås, | bhiy-ê or bhiy-di, | ndiry-di. | |
| Abl. | nary-as, | bhiy-as or bhiy-as, | ndiry-dt. | |
| Gen. | nåry-ås, | bhiy-as or bhiy-as, | ndiry-do. | |
| Loc. | nåry-åm, | bhiy-i or bhiy-am, | nâiry-a. | |
| Voc. | nāri, | bhí-s, | nâiri. | |

| | | DUAL. | |
|----------|-----------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| | Sanscrit. | | Zend. |
| N. A. V. | náry-áu, | bhiy-đu, | nairí (see §. 213. p. 227). |
| I. D. Ab | . n árí-bhyám, | bhî-bhyâm, | nâi ri-bya. |
| Loc. | nåry-ås, | bhiy-6s, | ndiry-69 |
| | | PLURAL. | |
| N. V. | náry-ás, | bhiy-as, | nâiry-âo. |
| Accus. | ndrî-s, | bhiy-as, | ndirî-s. |
| İnstr. | nárí-bhis, | b hí -bhis, | ndiri-bîs. |
| D. Abl. | nárí-bh yas, | bhî-bhyas, | náiri-byð. |
| Gen. | nari-n-am, | bhi y-am ,* | ndiri-n-anm. |
| Loc. | nari-shu, | bhí-shu, | nāiri-shva or -shu. |

"Remark.—By the side of the declension of monosyllabic feminine bases in i, which may reject the terminations peculiar to the feminine alone, may be placed the Greek κῖς, and a remarkable similarity of inflexion will be observed, as Nom. bhí-s, κΐ-ς, Gen. bhiy-as, κἴ-ός, Loc. Dat. bhiy-i, κἴ-ί, Acc. strî-m,* κΐ-ν, Voc. bhî-s, κΐ-ς. Plural: Nom. bhiy-as, κί-ες, Gen. bhiy-âm, κἴ-ων, Loc. Dat. bhí-shu, κἴ-σί, Acc. bhiy-as, κί-ας, Voc. bhiy-as, κί-ες. I consider, however, this coincidence as accidental, but, nevertheless, an accidental coincidence of that nature, that can only occur in languages which were originally really one: and undoubtedly the terminations, whose common sound appears so startling, are historically connected. As far, however, as concerns the theme, I believe, with Kühner (§. 287.), that the ī of was not the original foundation-pillar of the word, but that a consonant has fallen out after the i. I would rather, however, leave this consonant undecided, than assume that

^{*} Or bhi-n-âm. Further, the longer case-terminations, which belong to the feminine (see §. 164.), are added at will to the monosyllabic feminines in \hat{i} , \hat{u} ; for example, together with bhiyé, bhruvé, also bhiyái, bhruvái.

KIF is the true theme, and that the nominative was originally $\kappa_i F_{\varsigma}$; for if $\kappa_i \delta_{\varsigma}$, $\kappa_i i$, in the form in which they have been received, are analogous to $\Delta \iota \delta \varsigma$, $\Delta \iota i$, from $\Delta \iota F \delta \varsigma$, $\Delta \iota F i$, still, to establish a theme KIF, a proof must be brought similar to that which really attaches to $\Delta \iota F \iota$ from its being found in inscriptions. And besides this, that which of itself is alone sufficient proof, the cognate Sanscrit word दिव div, "heaven" (§. 122.), likewise attests a digamma. All ground for supposing a theme KIF is, however, wanting, for the long ι could, as in the Sanscrit of bhi, and like the long υ in $\delta\phi\rho\dot{\upsilon}\varsigma$, be also the real final letter of the root, only that the long in the Sanscrit, except in compounds (for example সক্ষী gata-bhi m. f., "void of fear," जलपी m. f., "water drinking," see Gramm. Crit. §§. 169, 170.), concludes only the feminine themes. We will therefore seek elucidation regarding the Greek kis in another way, through the Sanscrit; and we find this, as it appears to me, through a like masculine base, which approximates closely to the $\kappa \bar{i}$ - ς , as well in form as in meaning; namely, in कीट kîta, Nom. कीटस kîta-s, "insect," "worm," which would lead us to expect in the Greek κιτος, Acc. κίτον, to which κῖς, κῖν, bear the same relation as μέγας, μέγαν, to the presupposed μέγαλος, μέγαλον. I do not consider it requisite to assume a theme METAT, although the Sanscrit महत् mahat, "great," might support it; but महत् mahat is a participial form, and its full and original form (§. 129.) is महम्त mahant, Nom. masc. महान् mahan, which would correspond to the Greek μεγων."

FEMININE BASES IN 4, ū.

SINGULAR.

| | Greek. | | |
|--------|-------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| Nom. | | bhru-s, "eye-brow," | όφρ υ -ς. |
| Accus. | vadhû-m, | bhruv-am. | δφρΰ-ν. |
| Instr. | vad hv- å, | bh ruo -å, | • • • • |
| Dat. | vadhv-đi, | bhruv-é (or -ái), | • • • • |
| | | ^ | |

| | Sans | crit. | Greek. |
|---------|-----------------------|--------------------------|------------|
| Abl. | vadhv-ås. | bhruv-as (or -as), | • • • • |
| Gen. | vadhv-ås, | bhruv-as (or -as), | ὀφρύ-ος. |
| Loc. | vadhv-åm, | bhruv-i (or -am), | ὀφρύ-ϊ. |
| Voc. | vadhu, | bhrû-s, | όφρῦ. |
| | | DUAL. | |
| N.Ac.V | .vadv-au, | bhruv-ûu, | ὀφρύ-ε. |
| I.D. Ab | .vadhû-bhyâm, | bhrû-bhyâm, | όφρύ-ο-ιν. |
| G. L. | vadhv-8s, | bh ru v-ôs. | • • • • |
| | | PLURAL. | |
| N. V. | vadhv-as, | bhruv-as, | ὀφρύ−ες. |
| Accus. | vadhú-s, | bhruv-as, | όφρύ-ας. |
| Instr. | vadhû-bhis, | bhrû-bhis, | • • • • |
| D. Abl. | vadhû-bhya s , | bh rû-bhy as, | • • • • |
| Gen. | vadhû-n-am, | bhruv-am (or bhrû-n-am), | όφρύ-ων. |
| Loc. | vadhû- sh u, | b hrû-s hu, | όφρύ-σι. |

"Remark.—The identity of χ bhrû and 'OPPY* is sufficient proof that the length of the v is organic (comp. §. 121.), and it is not necessary, therefore, to suppose a theme OPPYF (comp. Kühner §. 289.) in order to consider $\partial \phi \rho \hat{v}_{\varsigma}$ as coming from $\partial \phi \rho v F_{\varsigma}$, and the long v as a compensation for the rejected F, as perhaps $\mu \hat{\epsilon} \lambda \hat{a}_{\varsigma}$ from $\mu \hat{\epsilon} \lambda a v_{\varsigma}$. That, however, F originally stood before the terminations now commencing with a vowel, though at a time when the language had not a Grecian form—for example, $\partial \phi \rho \hat{v} F_{0\varsigma}$ —is shewn by the Sanscrit bhruv-as; by which, at the same time, the shortening of the v in this case is justified, for the Sanscrit

^{*} The o in ὀφρύς is based on the peculiar disposition of the Greek to prefix a vowel to words which originally commenced with a consonant, to which I have already drawn attention in another place, and by which, among other things, the relation of ὄνυξ, ὄνομα, to नाम nakha-s, नाम nāma, is shewn.

BASES IN du (vi).*

| | SINGULAR. | • |
|------------------|------------|---|
| | Sanscrit. | Greek. |
| Nominative, | náu-s, | <i>ν</i> αῦ - ς. |
| Accusative, | ndv-am, | ναῦ-ν. |
| Genitive, | nâv-us, | $v\bar{\alpha}(F)$ -óς. |
| Locative, | n&v-i, | $\nu \bar{\alpha}(F)$ - i . |
| Vocative, | náu-s, | ναῦ-ς. |
| | DUAL. | |
| Nom. Acc. Voc. | nAv-Au, | $v\hat{a}(F)$ - ϵ . |
| Instr. Dat. Abl. | ndu-bhydm, | $v\bar{\alpha}(F)$ -o- $\hat{\iota}v$. |
| | PLURAL. | |
| Nominative, | náv-as, | $ u\hat{a}(F)$ - $\epsilon\varsigma$. |
| Accusative, | nâv-as, | $v\hat{\alpha}(F)$ - $\alpha\varsigma$. |
| Genitive, | náv-ám, | $ u \bar{lpha}(F)$ - $\hat{\omega} \nu$. |
| Locative, | nâu-shu, | Dat. ναυ-σί. |
| Vocative, | nâv-as, | $ u \hat{lpha}(F)$ - $\epsilon \varsigma$. |

"Remark.—I find no sufficient grounds, with Kühner, (l. c. §. 283.) to suppose that the base of the nominatives

^{*} I give only the cases contained in the Greek.

in aus, eus, ous, originally terminated in F, so that in the case before us it would be requisite to suppose a theme NAF: for even if the vocalization of F to v, in order to facilitate the junction with a consonant following, did not surprise us forms like vafs, vafor, could never occur;—still, on the other hand, the transition of the sound v into its corresponding semi-vowel, in order to avoid the hiatus, is far more regular, and is required in the Sanscrit according to the common rules of euphony. We will not therefore differ from the Indian grammarians, by the assumption of a theme नाव náv for नी náu, and गव् gav for मो gô (bos); although, if there were adequate reasons for it, the practice of the Indian grammarians would not restrain us from laying down गव् gav and नाव् nav in the Sanscrit as the true themes, which maintained themselves in this form only before vowel terminations, but before consonants have allowed the v to pass into a u, according to the analogy of the anomalous fee div, "heaven"; whence, for example, the instrumental plural सुभिस् dyu-bhis for दिवभिस् div-bhis, which would be phonetically impossible (Gramm. Crit. §. 208.). The Latin navis cannot compel us to lay down a theme nav for the Sanscrit and Greek, for the Latin base has extended itself by an unorganic i, as svan, "dog," to cani; and therefore it exhibits in its declension nowhere u, but universally v.

BASES TERMINATING WITH A CONSONANT.

| | | SINGULAR | 5. | |
|---------|-----------|----------|-----------------------|---------|
| | Sanscrit. | Zend. | Latin. | Greek. |
| Thema, | VĀCH, | VĀCH, | $oldsymbol{ar{O}C}$, | on. |
| Nom. | vák, | vâc-s, | voc-s, | ŏπ-ς. |
| Accus. | våch-am. | vach-ĕm, | voc-em, | ŏπ-α. |
| Instr. | vách-á, | vách-a, | • • • • | • • • • |
| Dative, | våch-é, | vách-é, | • • • • | * * * * |
| | | | | |

^{*} See Locative.

STNATIT. A D

| | | RINGULA | AR. | |
|------------|------------|-------------------------|---------------|----------------|
| | Sanscrit. | Zend. | Latin. | Greek. |
| Ablat. | * | våch-at, | voc- $e(d)$, | • • • • |
| Gen. | vâch-as, | vách-ó,† | voc-is, | όπ-ός. |
| Loc. | våch-i, | vách-i, | D. voc·i, | D. ἀπ-ί. |
| Voc. | vák, | våc-8? | voc-s, | ŏπ-ς. |
| | | DUAL | • | |
| N. Acc. V | . vách-áu, | vách-áo, | • • • • | |
| or | vách-á,‡ | vách-a, | • • • • | ŏπ-e. |
| I. D. Abl. | våg-bhyåm, | | • • • • | D. G. οπ-ο-ιν. |
| G. L. | vách-ós, | vâch-67 | • • • • | • • • • |
| • | | PLURA | L. | |
| N. V. | våch-as, | vách-ô,† | voc-es, | όπ-ες. |
| Accus. | våch-as, | v ách-ó, † | voc-es, | όπ-ας. |
| Instr. | våg-bhis, | | | • • • • |
| D. Abl. | våg-bhyas, | | voc-i-bus, | • • • • |
| Gen. | vách-ám, | vach-anm, | voc•um, | • • • • |
| Loc. | vák-shu, | vác-shva? | • • • • | D. όπ-σί. |

"Remark 1.—I leave the terminations in the Zend which commence with b unnoticed, since, contrary to my former opinion (§. 224. Rem.) I look on the \(\xi\) e, in forms like which raochebis, no longer as a conjunctive vowel; and therefore no longer attribute the said form to a theme what raoch, but assume that whisper arochebis, and similar forms, have proceeded from bases in \(\frac{1}{3}\) (from as §. 56^b.); so that I look upon the \(\xi\) e as a corruption of the \(\delta\), and to the form \(\frac{1}{3}\) is a similar way I find, lost, form \(\frac{1}{3}\) is \(\frac{1}{3}\) is a similar way I find,

^{*} As the Genitive. † With cha, "and," vâchaś-cha. ‡ See p. 230. Rem.*.

[§] M. Burnouf, who has induced me, by his excellent pamphlet, cited at p. 276, on the Vahista (in the separate impression, p. 16, and following), to rectify my former views, leaves, p. 18 note, the question still undecided, whether forms like عدر عدد معنون المعنون المعن

in the Prakrit, (Urvasi, by Lenz, p. 40.), which achharchin for wealth achharchin (Sanscrit apsarobhis); and if this form is genuine, then the eq, in forms like was enough achebis, appears to stand for ne, as generally many interchanges between eq and ne occur, although in the case before us the eq is very constantly written, and ne has not yet been pointed out in its place. If it is further considered that we often find eq ye for ye, "which," eq ke for ye, "who?" and in the pronoun of the 2d person in the plural also eq ve for ye, and, finally, in the pronoun of the 1st person eq ne for y ne; then we see the change of the ye with e is sufficiently ascertained, although it appears to be restricted to the end of words of a monosyllabic form; and in these the practice of writing the ye is the prevailing one, while before termi-

שניבע vachebis, אין און raochebis have so arisen from the bases $\psi_{\mathcal{S}}$ $\omega_{\mathcal{S}}$ $\omega_{\mathcal{S}}$, &c., that the $\psi_{\mathcal{S}}$ $\omega_{\mathcal{S}}$ is suppressed, and $\varphi_{\mathcal{S}}$ then introduced as conjunctive vowel; or whether, before the \hat{o} (from $a\hat{s}$) only, the i has been rejected, and the preceding a with an epenthetic i united with an e. In the former case I should not have been entirely wrong, from the analogy of raoch-e-bis, to deduce forms like vach-e-bis. sider, however, the last view as the right one, only that I prefer letting the 6 from the pre-supposed original form, manô-bis, raochô-bis, be changed in its whole force into ξ e, rather than reduce it into its elements, and mix the first of the said elements (a) with a conjoined i: for the derivation of manebis from manabis, for manashis, would extend to the Sanscrit form मनोभिस् manobhis, which originally may have been manarbhis (manas-bhis was never possible). But I believe that in the Zend the form ebis really preceded the form obis. M. Burnouf, in his review in the Journal des Savans (in the separate impression, pp. 30, 31), calls attention to a form yuly vaghschbyo, for which is once found, in the Vend. Sade, pp. 69 and 70, كالدوع في vâghëschëbyô, once မှသည်ဆောင်ကို ကိုက်သောကို ကိုက်သည် ပစ်ချင်လောက် ကိုက်သည် ပစ်ချင်လောက်မှုတို့ which,

nations beginning with b as yet no b has been pointed out; so that b appears to be as repugnant to a preceding b as favourable to a following b, if the conjecture of Burnouf, mentioned at p. 277, is well-founded. On this point I was not yet clearly informed, when, at §§. 224. and 242., I inconsiderately imagined I could deduce vachb-bya, vachb-bis, from from vachb (from vacha). Instead of this should be read which vachb (from vacha). Instead of this should be read which in the locative singular, vachb vachahi for vachahi; since the nasal to be prefixed to the h, according to §. 56b., falls away when the vowel which follows the h is i, which has been already signified in the paragraph quoted, but since then fully proved by Burnouf. Besides, there really occurs, also, in one passage (where, unfortunately, the lithographed MS. is faulty, and is therefore

which, with the conjunctive vowel & & (see §. 30.) introduced in different ways, plainly represent one and the same word, and have proceeded from မိုသည်မှာ väghschbyő, which itself never occurs. Although these forms, which had struck me likewise, clearly belong to a theme which means "discourse," and is connected with our vach, I would still rather not, with Burnouf, derive it from vach; so that the nominative of this, vâcs, raised to a secondary theme, would be contained therein. We dare not, without further authority, attribute to the Zend such a malformation, although it derives its superlatives in wffo tëma from the masculine nominative, instead of from the theme. But Anquetil, in his Glossary, gives a form vakhsenghe, "parole utile," which we ought probably to read טענטייענישן vacsanhe (as dative), if not with long a עונעטעעבעטאן vâcsanhé. This latter form would belong to a theme န်ကလာကျင်း vaceo (vaceas); from which, in the dat. abl. pl., မှသမာဂ္ဂာကျင်း våghschbyć (våghëschbyć, &c.) might proceed for پاندنګ سوړدو våcsbyć; as with walfing mazepis, walfluf manebis, occurs also walsuf mazbis, אנענענון manbis; for the we of שנענענון vâcsó must, as Burnouf has shewn, in contact with b become & sch.

impossible for me to use) the locative yuchahi; that is to say, in the Vend. S. p. 173, where, for warming արտարար manahéchá vachahéchá, is to be read արտարաբան אין אייט manahicha vachahicha. In a Grammar, the lost acquaintance with which is again to be restored, oversights of this kind will, I trust, be excused in the first labourers; and, if for example, Rask gives to the word paiti the genitive paitois, while, according to §. 180. Rem.", patois is to be written, still the form paitôis was, in its time, instructive in the main, and first taught me that the Sanscrit genitive termination e-s corresponds to the form dis in the Zend. If, too, Rask has incorporated in his scheme of declensions also the ablative paitôit (for patôit), this was indeed a new error, but also a new advantage for the Zend Grammar in its then state, and brought to light a new and important fact, which I believe I was the first to discover; namely this, that roots in i form their ablative in dit, for which the proofs in the Zend-Avesta, as much as I have of it, are neither numerous nor easily found. I make this remark because M. Burnouf, as it appears to me, speaks too unfavourably of such theoretic formations. As far as I am concerned, I believe I may assert that my communications regarding Zend Grammar are founded on careful reflec-I could not, however, perfectly conclude my considerations, and I am very ready to complete and adjust them through those of M. Burnouf. For in this book also, in regard to Zend Grammar, one must carefully distinguish the disquisitions given in the text from the general comparison added at the end of each rule regarding In the former I give only those Zend forms which I have seen, and I thence deduce theoretic laws: in the latter I seek to make the deductions from the inquiries pursued in the text evident in one select example. I am perfectly sure of the prevailing majority of the forms given in the tables, and can produce abundant examples

of them. I have marked some as questionable, and shewn the limits of the probability of others, in notes; and if an error has crept into the forms spoken of, and by me believed to be correct, it will give me pleasure to be able hereafter supplementarily to correct it. The form supply vachanhi was, however, only in a measure a theoretic formation; and I should not have ventured to exhibit it if I had not observed, in other words of the same declension, i.e. in other bases terminating with a consonant, the locative, which has entirely escaped Rask.

"Remark 2.—One might consider the o of onoiv instead of a conjunctive vowel, as has been stated above (see §. 221.), as a property of the base, i.e. as an unorganic extension of it; or, in other words, regard it as a transition from the third to the second declension; a declaration which must then naturally extend itself to the dual termination our of the whole third declension (ποσίο-ιν, βοτρύο-ιν, δαιμόνο-ιν, as λύκο-ιν), and to all cases in the formation of words and arrangement of the same, where we have represented an o foreign to the proper base as conjunctive vowel. According to this, forms like μελιτόεις, μελιτοπώλης, φυσιολογία, βοτρυόεις, βοτρυόδωρος, would be, under the presupposition of the bases MEΛΙΤΟ, ΦΥΣΙΟ, BOTPYO, to be divided into μελιτό-εις, and would lead us to expect the nominatives $\mu \epsilon \lambda \iota \tau \sigma - \nu$, &c., which are not to be found. The statement here given has this in its favour, that similar cases occur also in cognate dialects, since in general that declension which is the most in vogue and most used, is prone, in certain cases, to receive into itself the other declensions, which annex to their original base the final letters of the roots of the declension more in use. origin of ὀποῖν from OΠO, of φερόντοιν from ΦΕΡΟΝΤΟ, was as it were the first commencement of the disease, which came to its full developement in the Pali; since in this language, which otherwise closely resembles the

Sanscrit, the bases which end with consonants are declined in the old way only in the singular, but in the plural are so corrupted, that, with the exception of the nominative and the vocative of similar sound, and the genitive, which at the same time supplies the place of the dative, they have extended the old base by an unorganic a (=Greek o), and have thus partly brought it from the Greek third declension into the second; and in the singular, also, most of the cases may, together with the old form, assume more recent forms, which have originated in the manner In this manner, for example, the root we char, " to go," forms its participle present partly from the original base चरन charant, or its corruption चरत charat (see §. 129.), partly from the augmented theme was charanta, and in part also arbitrarily from चान्त charant or चान charanta, as follows (see Clough's Pali Grammar, Colombo 1824. p. 25., and compare Burnouf's and Lassen's Essay, p. 112. et seq.):

SINGULAR.

| Th. CHARANT, | CHARANTA, | CHARAT. |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------|
| Nom. charan,* | chara n tô, | • • • |
| Acc. charant-am, [†] | • • • • | • • • • |
| Instr | ch aranté-n-a , | charat-å. |
| Dat. like the Genitive, | | _ |
| ALI | scharanta-små, or charanta-mhå, |) .h ====4 4 8 |
| Abl | or charanta-mhâ, | cnarat-a.s |

^{*} The final π n is, as in the Prakrit (§. 10.), transmuted into the Anusvâra, which I here express, as in the Sanscrit, by \dot{n} .

[†] It might also be divided thus, charanta-m, and deduced from charanta.

[‡] Transposed, and with h for s (comp. §. 163.). These forms are derived from the medial pronoun snua mentioned in §. 166., which, in the Pali also, has forced its way into the usual declension. The t, which was to have been expected, is, as generally happens at the end of a word, suppressed.

[§] Charata, is according to appearance, identical with the instrumental, but

| Th. | CHARANT, | CHARANTA, | CHARAT. |
|--------|---|--|------------|
| Gen. | • • • • | charanta-ssa, | charat-ô. |
| Loc. | | charanté, or charanta-smin, or charanta-mhi, | charat-i. |
| Voc. | $\left\{ egin{array}{l} charan, \ { m or} \ chara, \ { m or} \ chara, \end{array} ight. ight\}$ | PLURAL. | • • • • |
| Nom. | | charantā,† | |
| Acc. | • • • • | charantê, | |
| Instr. | • • • • | {charantébhi, or charantehi,} | |
| Dat. | like the Geniti | ve. | |
| Abl. | like the Instru | mental. | |
| Gen. | • • • • | • • • • | charat-am. |
| Loc. | • • • • | charaniê-su, | • • • • |
| Voc. | cha rant ô, | charantá, | |

"If the Greek in its bases ending with a consonant had followed the confused example of the Pali, one would have expected, for instance, from φέρων a genitive φέροντου, dative φέροντω; and in the plural indeed, φερόντων from

but is, in reality, corrupted from charat-at, analogous with Zend forms like ap-at (in §. 180.): the suppressed t is replaced by the lengthening of the preceding vowel, as in achará, "he went," from ucharát (Clough, p. 106.).

^{*} If this form really belongs to a theme in nt, as I believe, it has sprung from the original form charan, by suppression of the concluding nasal (comp. Burnouf and Lassen, p. 89); and in chara this deficiency is replaced by lengthening the vowel.

[†] According to the usual declension ending with a consonant one would expect with charanta also charanto, from the original theme charant; as, for example, gunavanto is used with gunavanta, "the virtuous"; the former from gunavant, the latter from gunavanta.

ΦΕΡΟΝΤ, but φεροντοι, φεροντοις, φεροντοις, from ΦΕΡΟΝΤΟ. In this manner the form φερόντοιν in the dual, which has been lost in Pali, would be clearly explained as derived from ΦΕΡΟΝΤΟ; but even when standing isolated, φερόντοιν can be referred justly to a theme ΦΕΡΟΝΤΟ, as the first commencement of a corruption which was further pursued in the Pali; and I prefer this view of the matter now laid down at §. 221. Both views, however, concur so far; and thus much of my opinion may be looked on as proved, that in φερόντοιν, and all other dative-genitive forms of the third declension, the o belongs neither to the original theme, which lies at the root of all the other cases, nor to the true case suffix.

SINGULAR.

| | Sanscrit. | Zend. | Latin. | Greek. | Gothic. |
|------|-------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|
| N. | bharan, | baran-s, | feren-s, | φέρων, | |
| Ac. | bharant-am, | barent-ĕm, | ferent-em, | φέροντ-α(ν), | fijand. |
| Ins. | .bharat-A, | barĕnt-a, | • • • • | D. I | fijand. |
| D. | bharat-é, | barĕnt-ê, | see Locat. | see Loc. | see Dat. |
| Ab. | see Gen. | barant-at, | ferent-e(d), | • • • • | |
| G. | bharat-as, | barent-0,+ | ferent-is, | φέροντ-ος, | fijand-is.‡ |
| L. | bharat-i, | barĕnt-i, D | .ferent-i, D. | φέροντ-ι, | • • • • |
| V. | bharan, | baran-s, | feren-s, | φέρων, | fijand. |

^{*} Feind, "foe," as "hater," see §. 125. p. 138.

[†] See p. 210. Rem. §; with cha, barentas-cha ("ferentisque").

[‡] I imagined, p. 210, that I must, in this case, which before was not proved to exist in ND bases, set down fijand-s as a mutilation of fijand-is from fijand-as, according to the analogy of other bases terminating with a consonant (ahmin-s, brôthr-s, §. 191.); Grimm has (I. 1017.) conjectured frijôndis or frijônds from frijônds. Since this, owing to the very valuable additions made by Massmann to our Gothic authorities, the genitive nasjandis of Nasjand ("preserver," "preserving") has come to light (see his Glossary, p. 153), by analogy with which I form fijand-is.

DUAL.

| Sanscrit. | | | Zend. | | Greek. | | |
|--------------|--------------------|----------|------------|----------------|-----------|------|----------------|
| N. Ac. Voc. | . bharan | t-âu, | bar | rant-ão, or ba | ranta, | φέρ | 0 ∨7-€. |
| Vêd | a, <i>bharan</i> | t-â,* | | | | | . • |
| I. D. Abl. | bharad | -bhyâm, | bar | ran-bya,† | | φερ | όντο-ιν.‡ |
| Gen. Loc. | bharat- | ·63, | bar | eat-6? (p. 276 | s, R. 1.) | • | |
| | | | PL | URAL. | | | |
| Sa | necrit. | Zend. | | Latin. | Gree | k. | Gothic. |
| N. V. bhard | ınt-as, | barënt-0 | ,§ | ferent-ēs, | φέροντ | -ες, | fijand-s. |
| Acc. bhare | at-as, | barënt-d | , § | ferent-ēs, | φέροντ | -ας, | fijand-s.# |
| Instr. bhard | id- bh îs, | baran-bi | 3,¶ | • • • • | • • • • | | • • • |
| D. Ab. bhard | id-bhya s , | baran-by | yô,¶ | ferent-i-bus, | | | ** |
| Gen. bhare | at-âm, | barënt-a | im,† | †ferenti-um, | φερόντ- | ων, | fijand-ê.‡‡ |
| Loc. bhard | ı t-s u. | § | § | • • • | φέρου-σ | ·. | |

^{*} See p. 299. Rem. 2.

[†] Or barënbya. See p. 241. Rem., and p. 210. Rem. §.

[‡] See p. 299. Rem. 2.

[§] Barentas-cha, "ferentesque." See §. 210. Rem. §.

^{||} This form, which, owing to an oversight, is omitted in p. 260, is found at Matth. 5. 44., and agrees with frijonds, "amicos" ("amantes"), Matth. 5. 47. as generally with the declension of a root terminating with a consonant. Comp. Grimm (I. 1017.).

[¶] See p. 241. Rem., and p. 210. Rem. §.

^{**} The Gothic dative, which I would have used also as the instrumental (§. 243.), does not occur in roots ending in nd.

^{††} Or barant-anm. See p. 266. Rem. †.

^{‡‡} This case certainly cannot be proved in roots in nd; but can, however, be correctly deduced from the other roots ending with a consonant, and from the elder sister dialects. See §. 245.

^{§§} I conjecture a transition into the a declension (comp. p. 299. Rem. 2.), by suppressing the nt; thus, perhaps, baralshva (or-shu, or-shû, §. 250.), as Vend. 8. p. 354; parans & dregvalsû (read parans) for dregvalsû, from dregval, in the strong cases (§. 129.) dregvant; on the supposition that the reading is correct, except the false s. See §. 52.

| | Sanscrit. | Zend. | Latin. | Greek. | Gothic. |
|-------|-----------|--------------|-------------|--------------|------------------|
| N. | åtmå, | ašma', | sermo', | δαίμων, | ahma'. |
| Acc. | åtmån-am, | asman-ĕm, | sermon-em, | δαίμον-α(ν), | ahman. |
| Inst. | âtman-â, | asman-a, | | D. I. | ahmin (§. 132.) |
| Dat. | âtman-ê, | ašmain-ê, | see Loc. | see Loc. | see Dative. |
| Abl. | see Gen. | ašman-aṭ, | sermon-e(d) | , | • • • • |
| Gen. | âtman-as, | asman-6,* | sermon-is, | δαίμον-ος, | ahmin-s (§.132.) |
| Loc. | Atman-i, | asmain-i, D. | sermon-i, | δαίμον-ι, | • • • • |
| Voc. | åtman, | asman, | sermo', | δαῖμον, | ahma'. |
| | | | D1/ 4 F | | |

DUAL.

| | Sansorit. | Zend. | Greek. |
|---------------|--------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| N. Acc. Voc. | âtmân-âu, | asman-do, or asman-a, | δαίμον-ε. |
| Vêda, | åtmån-a. | | |
| Instr. D. Ab. | åtma'-bhyåm, | asma'-bya, D. G | i. δαιμόνο-ιν.† |
| Gen. Loc. | åtman-ås, | ašman-6? (p. 276, R. 1.) | , |

PLURAL.

| | Sansorit. | Zend. | Latin. | Greek. | Gothic. |
|--------|--------------|------------|---------------|------------------|----------------------------|
| N.V. | åtmån-as, | asman-6*, | sermon-ēs, | δαίμον-ες, | ahman-s. |
| Ac. | åtman-as, | asman-ô*, | sermon-ēs, | δαίμον-ας, | ahman-s. |
| Instr. | âtma`-bhis, | asma'-bîs, | | (δαιμόνο-φιν), Ι | D. I. $ahma'-m^{\ddagger}$ |
| D. Ab. | âtma'-bhyas, | ašma'-byô, | sermon-i-bus, | • • • • | • • • • |
| Gen. | âtman-âm, | asman-am, | sermon-um, | δαιμόν-ων, | ahman-ê. |
| Loc. | Atma'-su, | ašma'-hva, | • • • | δαίμο'-σι, | • • • • |

SINGULAR.

| | Sanscrit. | Zend. | Lutin. | Greek. | Gothic. |
|-----|------------------|-------------------------------|-----------|-------------|----------|
| N. | bh rá tá, | bråta, | frater, | πατήρ, | brôthar. |
| Ac. | bhråtar-am, | bråta r- ĕ m ,§ | fratr-ĕm, | πατέρ-α(ν), | brôthar. |

[§] Also & Also & Sade, p. 357; & Also & Also & Pathrém might be expected, as Vend. Sade, p. 357; & Also & Pathrém (pathrém?), contrary to the theory of the strong cases (§. 129.), for patarém.

| | Sanscrit. | Zend. | Latin. | Greek. | Gothic. |
|-----|------------|------------|--------------|----------|--------------------------------|
| In. | bhråtr-å, | bråthr-a | • • • • | • • • • | D. Inst. brôthr (see §. 132.). |
| D. | bhråtr-ê, | bråthr-ê, | see Loc. | see Loc. | • • • • |
| Ab. | see Gen. | bråihr-at, | frat r-e(d), | • • • • | • • • • |
| G. | bhráiur, | bråtar-s, | fratr-is, | πατρ-ός, | <i>brôthr-s</i> (see §.132.). |
| L. | bhråtar-i, | brûthr-i,* | D. fratr-i, | πατρ-ί, | • • • • |
| V. | bhråtar, | brâtarĕ,† | frater, | πάτερ, | brôthar. |

DUAL.

| Santoru. | | Zena. | Greek. | |
|--------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|------------|--|
| N. Acc. Voc. | bhråtar-åu, Vêd. bhråtar-å, | bråtar-åo or bråtar-a, | πατέρ-ε. | |
| Inst. D. Ab. | bhrátri-bhyám, | bratar-ĕ-bya, | πατέρο-ιν. | |
| Gen. Loc. | bhráir-ós, | brathr-a(?) | • • • | |

PLURAL.

| | Sanscrit. | Zend | Latin | Greek |
|-----------|-------------------------|-----------------------|--------------|----------------------|
| Nom. Voc. | bhråtar-as, | bråtar-8,§ | fratr-ēs, | πατέρ-ες. |
| Accus. | bhrátrí-n, | brûth r-eus ?¶ | fratr-ēs, | πατέρ-ας. |
| Instr. | bhråtri-bhis, | bråtar-ĕ-bís, | • • • • | |
| Dat. Abl. | bh rátri-bhy as, | bråtar-ĕ-byð, | fratr-i-bus, | • • • • |
| Genitive, | bhrátrí-n-ám, | brathr-ann,** | fratr-um, | πατέρ-ων. |
| Locative, | bhråtri-shu, | • • • | • • • • | D. π ατρά-σι. |

^{*} See p. 216. Note.

[†] See §. 44.

[‡] For the Gothic, which is here wanting, see p. 253. Note †.

[§] มคุมมในคุณ<u>ใ</u>ปอรล์tarai-cha, "fratresque."

^{||} See §. 127. Rem.

[¶] Perhaps also brâthr-6, brâthras-cha ("fratresque"), according to the analogy of âthr-6, "ignes," from âtar. See §. 239.

^{**} See p. 266. Note †.

| Zend. | Greek. | L |
|-------|--------|---|
| | • | |

| | Sanscrit. | Zend. | Greek. | Latin. |
|--------|-------------------|---------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| N.A.V. | manas, | manô,* | μένος, | genus. |
| Instr. | ma n as-å, | mananh-a, [†] | • • • • | • • • • |
| Dat. | manas-ê, | mananh-ê, | see Loc. | see Loc. |
| Abl. | see Gen. | mananh-at, | • • • | gener-e(d). |
| Gen. | manas-as, | mananh-d (mananhas-cha), | μένε(σ)-ος, | gener-is. |
| Loc. | manas-i, | manah-i. (see p. 316.) D. | μένε(σ)-ι, | gener-i. |

^{*} Manai-cha, "mensque," "mentemque."

[†] M. Burnouf remarks, in his review (in the separate impression, p. 11), that in this class of words the instrumental ending is generally long. I, in like manner, had remarked forms enough of this kind with a long \hat{a} , but in passages where too many a's, originally short, appear to be lengthened at the termination, and which, therefore, I was not willing to bring into account: moreover, the cases could not be included, where, through the particle was cha, a preceding we a is preserved in its original length. After deducting these two classes from forms in anhâ, the computation might perhaps turn out in favour of the short a given above. I have, however, as yet not applied any closer reckoning: it would, however, surprise me if, on more exact calculation, but still in departure from the fate of other polysyllabic words ending with a shortened a, the advantage in this particular case should incline to the side of those words which retain the long vowel, which I would then gladly restore. No one will deny that the collation of MSS. is of great importance in deciding many grammatical and orthographical questions, although I believe I may assert that even a single lithographed MS. opens a rich field to inquiries and important grammatical observations: for although it is very full of errors, it nevertheless shews no systematic opposition to what is correct; and many expressions, passages, and turns recur so frequently, that, taken together, they can in a measure supply the place of a comparison of other MSS. For the rest I had at my command the edition of Olshausen of the three first chapters and part of the fourth of the Vendidad, with the various readings attached to it, so that, through these means, I was not left entirely destitute of MSS.

DUAL.

Sanscrit. Zend. Greek.

N. Ac. V. manas-î, ... $\mu \acute{\epsilon} \nu \epsilon(\sigma) - \epsilon$.

I. D. Ab. manô-bhyâm, mane-bya (p. 241.), D. G. $\mu \epsilon \nu \acute{\epsilon}(\sigma) - \iota \nu$.*

G. L. manas-ôs, mananh-ô(?) (p. 242.), ...

PLURAL.

Sanscrit. Zend Latin. Greek. N. Ac. V. manáns-i. mananh-a,† $\mu \acute{\epsilon} \nu \epsilon(\sigma)$ - α , gener-a. (μένεσ-φιν,) mano-bhis, Instr. mane-bîs, Dat. Abl. mano-bhyas, mane-byo, gener-i-bus. see Loc. mananh-aim, $\mu e \nu \dot{\epsilon}(\sigma)$ - $\omega \nu$, gener-um. Genitive, manas-âm, μένεσ-σι, Locative, manas-su, manô-hva,

SINGULAR, MASCULINE AND FEMININE.

Sanscrit. Zend. Greek.

Nom. durmanás, dushmanáo (§. 56^b.), δυσμενής (§. 146.)

Accus. durmanas-am, dushmananh-ĕm, δυσμενέ(σ)-α(ν).

Voc. durmanas, ... δυσμενές.

The rest like the simple word.

DUAL.

 $\left. \begin{array}{c} N. Ac. Y. durmanas-du, \\ V\hat{e}da, durmanas-d, \end{array} \right\} dushmananh-a (?) \qquad \delta v \sigma \mu e v \acute{e}(\sigma)-\epsilon.$

The rest like the simple word.

PLURAL.

N. Voc. durmanas-as, dushmananh-δ (aš-cha), δυσμενέ(σ)-ες. Accus. durmanas-as, dushmananh-δ (aš-cha), δυσμενέ(σ)-ας. The rest like the simple word.

^{*} See p. 299. Rem. 2.

t See p. 253. Note †. It was, however, from an oversight that I, as was observed at p. 253, Note †, read in the Vendidad Sade, p. 127, which recurs three times, the instrumental in we should have in this passage, which recurs three times, the instrumental in we with a short a.

[‡] See p. 230. Note *.

SINGULAR, NEUTER.

Sanscrit. Zend. Greek.
Nom. Ac. V. durmanas, dushmanδ (as-cha), δυσμενές.
The rest like the simple word.

"Remark.—It was remarked in §. 152. (comp. §. 146.), that the Σ in forms like $\mu \acute{\epsilon} \nu o \varsigma$, $\epsilon \mathring{\upsilon} \gamma \epsilon \nu \acute{\epsilon} \varsigma$, belongs to the base, and is not the nominative character; and that the Z in forms like τετυφός has come from τ, and in like manner belongs to the M. Reimnitz, who, in (p. 54. &c.) his pamphlet mentioned at p. 294, agrees with this view, first given in my treatise "On some Demonstrative Bases," wishes to look upon the Σ in the masculine τετυφώς as belonging to the base, and arising out of τ ; in which I cannot agree with him, as I, according to the view generally taken, consider the final letters of τετυφώς as marks of the nominative, before which the final letter of the base is suppressed on account of the incompatible association of $\tau\sigma$ (comp. §. 99.), and replaced by lengthening the preceding vowel; as, for example, in μέλας for μέλανς. The Sanscrit has a few bases in n which, differing from the ruling principle (see §. 139.), run parallel in the nominative to the Greek $\mu \acute{e} \lambda \bar{a}_{\varsigma}$; thus, panthas, "the way," from panthan, accusative panthan-am. Only in this panthas the lengthening of the a can be less regarded as a compensation for the rejected n than in the Greek, because it extends also to the other full cases (§. 129.), with the exception of the vocative; but perhaps the lengthening of the a has originally taken place only in the nominative, and has thence imparted itself to those cases when the reason of this prolongation was no longer perceived, which otherwise stood upon an equal footing with the nominative. Thus one says महान mahan, "great" (from the theme mahant, properly a participle present from मह mah, "to grow"), with the vowel of the concluding syllable lengthened, according to the analogy of the Greek form, as λέγων. The Sanscrit word, however, retains the long vowel

also in the other full cases (mahântam "magnum," mahântas "magni," mahântâu, "μεγάλω"), with the exception of the vocative; while the usual participials present leave the a short in all the full cases. In most exact accordance, however, with the Greek participle present stand the Sanscrit possessive adjectives, which are formed by the suffix vant (Greek εντ for Fεντ, in μελιτόεις and others) and mant (in the weak cases vat, mat). These lengthen, that is to say the a only, in the nominative singular; so, for example, dhanavân, "dives" (from dhana, "riches"), dhanavant-am, dhanavant-âu, dhanavant-as, as λέγων, λέγοντα, λεγόντω, λεγόντες.

OLD SCLAVONIC DECLENSION.†

255. Before we enter upon the province of Sclavonic Grammar, we must endeavour to explain its system of sounds; and although it is not requisite to specify all the minutiæ of the subject, we must, nevertheless bring into notice those parts which are indispensable to the understanding of the Grammar. It is therefore our principal object, in the following remarks, to exhibit the connection of the Old Sclavonic sounds with those of the elder languages, of which they are either the true trans-

^{*} If even, as has been remarked in another place, the suffix an vant has maintained itself in the Latin in the form lent (as opulents), it would not be surprising if the weak form an vat, without the interchange of v with l, but with the weakening of the a to i, had its representative in the Latin divit, which stands in the same relation to dhanavat, by passing over the middle syllable, as malo to mavolo.

[†] It is stated by Professor Bopp, in the preface to the second published portion of this Grammar, commencing with the formation of cases in general, that it had not occurred to him to direct his attention at an earlier period to the Sclavonic tongues: having subsequently considered the subject, he found sufficient reason to include them in the same family of languages, and accordingly devotes to its principles of declension the supplementary section which follows.—Editor.

missions, or corruptions more or less vitiated. We give therefore, for the first time, a history of the Sclavonic sounds, in which, however, as is natural, as far as their value is concerned, we have nothing new to bring forward; and in this respect follow only the teaching of native grammarians.

- (a.)—The Old Sanscrit wa has so far experienced, in the Sclavonic, an exactly similar fate as in the Greek, that it is most frequently supplied by e or o (e, o), which are always short: it very rarely remains a. In the interior of the bases, also, ϵ and o are interchanged as in Greek; and as, for example, λόγος is related to λέγω, so, in the Old Sclavonic, is brod, "ferry," to bredû, "I wade through;" voy, "carriage," to vey4, "I ride in a carriage." And as, in the Greek, the vocative $\lambda \delta \gamma \epsilon$ is related to the theme AOFO, so, in the Old Sclavonic, rabe, "O slave," to rabo, nominative rab, "a slave." The o has a more important value than e, but a more than o; and hence a corresponds most frequently to a Sanscrit long &, so that, for instance, in the Old Sclavonic, forms in a answer to the feminine bases in wide (comp. vdova, "widow," with विश्व vidhava), which, in the vocative, is in like manner abbreviated to o (vdovo!), as above o to e. vowel, also, of the first member of a compound, a is weakened to o; for instance, vodo-pad, "waterfall," vodopoi, "water-drinker," for voda; just as in the Greek Μουσο-τραφής, Μουσο-φίλης, and similar compounds, which have shortened the feminine α or η to o. Even if, therefore, a is in the Old Sclavonic a short vowel, I nevertheless regard it, in respect to grammar, as the long o; so that in this the Old Sclavonic stands in a reversed relation to the Gothic, in which a has shewn itself to us as the short of θ , and, in case of abbreviation, θ would become a, exactly as in the Old Sclavonic a becomes o.
- (b.)—\(\xi\) i and \(\xi\) appear in the Old Sclavonic both as i, and the difference of the quantity is removed, at least I

do not find that a longer or shorter i is anywhere spoken of. Let schivû, "I live," be compared with नीवाम jîvâmi; sila, "virtue," with जील sila; and, on the other hand, vidyeti, "to see," with the base far vid, "to know," to the Guna form of which, वेशि vêdmi, the Old Sclavonic vyemy (abbreviated from vyedmy, infin. vyes-ti for vyed-ti), "I know," assimilates itself, so that vid and vyed in the Sclavonic appear as two different bases. The short ξ i, however, appears frequently in the Old Sclavonic also in the corruption to $e(\epsilon)$, as in the Greek and the Old High German (§. 72.); that is to say, the bases in i shew, in several cases, e for i, and the numeral three (fatri) appears frequently in composition in the form tre, e.g. trepûtye, "trivium." So, also, pûte-shestrye, όδοιπορία, from $p\bar{u}ti$ (§. 260.). The i is also very frequently suppressed, e.g. in the 3d person plural dadyat, "they give," Sanscrit दहित dadati; sût, "they are," Sanscrit सन्ति santi. Where i forms a diphthong with a vowel preceding it, it is marked in the old writing with a short mark, which we retain, e.g. boi, "strife."

(c.)—**u** and **u** have, in the Old Sclavonic, in the forms which are retained most correctly, both become y.* In this manner, for instance, by (infin. by-ti) agrees with **u** bhû, "his;" svekry, "father-in-law," with **u** śvaśru; myshy, "mouse," with **u** mūsha; syn, "son," with **u** sûnu; chetyri, τέσσαρες, with **u** chatur (in the theme), nominative masculine **u** chatuar chatuar s. The instances of y for

^{*} We express, as in Polish, the jery or dull i by y, as, like the Greek v, where it is original it supplies the place of the old short or long u. It is expressed in Russian, according to Reiff (by Gretsch II. p. 666.), as in French oui, spoken very short and monosyllabically; according to Heym, nearly like ü, in union with a very short i (Heym, p. 5). This does not, however, remain the same in all positions of this letter (Reiff, l.c.), and sounds after consonants other than labials like a dull thick i ("i sourd et étouffé").

corresponds to the long wi; for the short u, as in the Old High German (§. 70.), has for the most part become o; and thus, for example, snocha, "daughter-in-law," agrees with with snusha; oba, "both," with snu ubha (Vêda form), Zend wi) ubd. Hence, also, the old u declension has, in many cases, become similar to the o declension, which, according to (a.), has arisen from wa; and, on the other side, o may also, but only in substantives, participate in those forms which belong only to the genuine u declension: whence it is easily perceived that the genius of the language could not everywhere distinguish further the two kinds of o, in their history, indeed, far separated from one another, but phonetically identical.

(d.)—Unorganic y, i.e. y as representative of original vowels other than u or u is not uncommon in the grammar; that is to say, the personal termination my (1st person plural), like the Latin mus, has arisen from the more ancient mas; and if the bases in a (for with a large and the nominative plural (vdovy, "vidua"), still the y here is so much the less to be looked upon as a case termination, as no account could be given of y in this sense; and with bases in ja the a of the root is also really retained, and remains (volya, "voluntates"). But as the y exerts the force of an Umlaut on an o succeeding it, by which that vowel is changed to an e, so I think that to an i following the o, without the intervention of another letter, the force of a reactive Umlaut must be ascribed, even if this force is not everywhere exerted, and that some y's must be declared to be the Umlauts of o: that is to say, as soon as so much has been recognised in the Old Sclavonic adjectives, that their bases all end either in o or yo (changed by the Umlaut to ye), and are thus sister forms to the Greek, like AFAOO, 'AΓΙΟ; and of the Sanscrit, as wan śvêta. "white," दिया divya, "heavenly";—so soon, I say, as the abbreviation of the base in the masculine nominative has been recognised (nov, novus, for novo), then will it be no longer said with Dobrowsky (p. 318.) that the definite adjectives are derived from the primitives (indefinite) by annexing, according to the measure of the final letter of the primitive, either yi or ii.* If, however, I may trust that I have obtained an accurate knowledge of the organization of the Old Sclavonic grammar on any point, it is on this, that the affix in the nominative singular of definite adjectives consists not in yi or ii, but in i as a mutilation of yo from ya(य ya), and in the feminine of ya from ja (या ya). This also appears to me subject to no manner of doubt, that if, for example, the compound word svyatyi comes from the word svyato, "holy," its acknowledged theme, the y is a euphonic product from o, through the influence of the i which is added to it. This i has, in some cases, in which it has been dropped, still in a degree, in its euphonic operation, left its reflection, and thereby the proof of its former existence. Thus, for instance, svyaty-m, "per sanctum," from the older svyaty-ch, "sanctorum," and "in sanctis," from svyatyi-ch, corresponds to the indefinite forms svyato-m, svyatye-ch (for svyato-ch).† At times, through the pronominal syllable i, the preceding o may be changed at will into y, or not: thus the interrogative exhibits the forms kyi, "quis?" (Dobr. 500 and 343.) kyim, "per quem?" kyich,

^{*} Dobr. also himself, p. 493, considers simple i or ii as the definitive adjunct; but in considering, as he there does, blagy as the confluence of blag and ii, he appears to look upon the y as having arisen from the i of the suffix, and not to acknowledge in it the final vowel of the simple adjective root.

[†] In the oldest MSS., according to Dobr. p. 502, the more full forms yich, yim, yime occur in the plural, for ym, ych, ymi.

"in quibus, quorum?" kyim, "quibus?" kyimi, "per quos?" with koi, koim, koich, koimi. The possessive pronouns allow no euphonic reaction at all to the demonstrative i, which forms the last member of them, and they always retain their radical o; e.g. moi, "meus," moim, "per meum," not myi, myim. As to the definite form of the adjective roots in yo, which Dobrowsky forms through the addition of ii, I have not the slightest doubt that here, also, a simple i is the defining element, for the first i is clearly the vocalization of the y of the primitive root; so that therefore, for example, sinii, "the blue," is to be divided, not into sin-ii, but into sini-i. The primitive adjective is sounded in the nominative deprived of all inflection and of the last vowel of the base-siny, the y of which appears as i in the nominative plural masculine, just as in the definite pronoun, sini, "cærulei," sinii, oi "cærulei." In order, however, here fully to explain the nature and origin of the definite declension, and not hereafter to be compelled to repeat what is already settled, it may be stated that its pronominal defining addition is identical with the Sanscrit relative base $\forall ya$, which is most correctly preserved in the Lithuanian, as "he" is here, in like manner, pronounced ya, but signifies "he" (ya-m, "to him," ya-mė, "in him"). The nominative yis, "he" (for yas), has given the y an assimilating influence, as is the case with all bases in ya (§. 135.). The feminine, also, is pronounced in the nominative, through assimilation, yi for ya; but the genitive yos, and all the other cases, are easily perceived through the declension of rankà, "hand," and giesme, "song," from GIESMYA (p. 169, Note). The Old Sclavonic has, in all the masculine bases ending with a vowel, this vowel suppressed in the nominative and accusative; and since the vowel has dropped from the Sanscrit-Lithuanian root $\forall ya, ya$ —which, according to (a.),

makes one expect yo in the Old Sclavonic, from which, according to (n.), must be formed ye — the y must be changed into a vowel; hence, i, "he," "him," which must, therefore, on no account be placed together with the Latin-Gothic is, from the root i. In the nominative singular masculine, however, this Sclavonic pronoun occurs in all the three genders, not isolated, but in union with the particle she, which has preserved to it the old relative meaning: i-she means as well "qui" as "quem"; ya-she, "quæ"; yû-she, "quam"; and ye-she, "quod." Now as i means "he," ya, "she," and ye, "it," I could not imagine how one could create the definitive adjective forms svyaty-i, svyata-ya, svyato-e (for svyatoye), accusative svyaty-i, svyatû-yû, svyato-e, in their opposition to the indefinites svyat(o), svyata, svyato, differently from Dobrowsky (p. 493.) and perhaps other grammarians before him have done, namely, by the addition of the pronoun here under discussion; for this pronominal suffix supplies the place of the article of other languages; and the Lithuanian language uses the same pronoun for the same object, i.e. equally in the emphatic or, as it is also termed, definite declension of the adjective;

^{*} Hence in the genitive ye-yo, dative ye-mû, loc. ye-m, the e of which Dobrowsky wrongly ascribes to flexion, because he everywhere seeks the base in the nominative. However, the base je has not fully maintained itself before all terminations beginning with a consonant, but become, in like manner, shortened to i: in i-m, "per eum" and iis, i-mi, "per eos," i-ch, "corum," "in iis," for ye-m, &c.

[†] What Grimm (by Wuk, p. xl.) remarks against this declaration has not convinced me; least of all can I, for the above reasons, concede to lim that the i of svyatyi has any thing to do with the a of blinda, "the blind" (from blindan, §. 140.); so that svyatyi belongs to the indefinite declension; and, on the other hand, svyat, contrary to the Sclavonic Grammarians, must be removed from the indefinite into the definite forms.

and certainly so, that, through all cases, both the adjective which precedes and the pronoun which concludes are declined, while, in the Sclavonic, in most cases the pronoun only is provided with the inflexions of case, but in some it has utterly disappeared, and in others is still to be recognised in the y for o mentioned above.

- (e.)—The Sanscrit diphthong $\mathbf{z} \in \mathbf{I}$ have found always rendered, in the Old Sclavonic, by ye, in similar forms; so that after weakening the $\mathbf{z} \in \mathbf{z}$, to compensate for this, the semi-vowel y has made its appearance, to which, in this union, a particular legitimacy would be, according to (c.), to be ascribed. Let pyena, "foam," be compared with $\mathbf{u} = phena$;" svyet, "light," with $\mathbf{u} = sveta$;" vyeny, "I know," with $\mathbf{u} = vedmi$. The most important cases in the grammar with ye against $\mathbf{z} \in \mathbf{z}$ are the dual case forms of the feminine and neuter, and those of the imperative, in accordance with the Sanscrit potential of the first conjugation.
- (f.)—The Sanscrit diphthong \vec{u} δ (from a + u) is represented in the Old Sclavonic by \vec{u} (*);* so that the first

^{*} Although this vowel may at times be pronounced short, still this much, at least, is certain, that, according to its origin and its definition, it is long. In Bohemian it appears in two forms, as au and u: the former is pronounced ou, but the writing points to an older and different pronunciation, in which the a was accurately preserved in its place: the u is pronounced short, whence, however, it cannot be deduced that this short u perhaps corresponds to the Sanscrit T and Greek v, and that au is its intensitive or gunirung; but, on the contrary, only the u retained in the au corresponds to the Sanscrit Tu, and the u which stands alone in Bohemian is a weakening of the au; so that, from this, the concluding element u alone is left: etymologically, that is to say, the Bohemian au, as also u, answers to the Sanscrit \hat{u} \hat{o} , and also to the Sclavonic \hat{u} (8), only that the former is phonetically more exact, and without the loss brought about by time. Hence, also, usta (written vsta) "ora" corresponds to the Sanscrit wir oshtha, "the lip": more complete, however, is austne, "by word of mouth"; and even for vsta is to be found austa (Dobr. Böhm. Lehrg.

element of the Indian diphthong has assimilated itself to the second, and, in conjunction with it, presents a similar long vowel, as, in the Greek & (ou), two heterogeneous vowels, according to pronunciation, have united themselves in a similar measure. As, according to (a), the Indian short a has, in the Sclavonic, mostly become short o, we must consider the first element in the diphthong d also (so we write the s) to be o; and it becomes visible, too, in this form, when \hat{u} is resolved before a vowel in ov (compare $\beta o(F) \delta \varsigma$ from B8, §. 123.), while the Indian जो o becomes av before a vowel (गिव $gavi = \beta oFi$, from $\Re gb$). Now as, in the Sanscrit, $\Im u$, ## û, rises to ô through Guna (§. 26.), and stô-shyâmi appears as the future of stu, so in the Old Sclavonic, in like manner, y(cy) is interchanged with a; so that $b\hat{u}$ in bû-du, "I shall be," must pass as the Guna form of by (in byti, "to be"): but if a class of nouns, which in the nominative-accusative terminate in a consonant or in yerr (see k.), exhibit, in many oblique cases, the syllable ov before vowel-endings, this ov must neither be considered, with Dobrowsky, for an augment added to the root, nor can it be deduced from forms like synovi, "from a son" (Sanscrit सूनवे sûnav-ê, from sûnu), synov-ê, "sons," (स्नयस sûnav-as), that syn, in the nominative-accusative, is an abbreviation of synú; and that therefore the yerr, when it is added to the form syn, is a representative or weak remainder of \hat{u} : but it is clear, from (c.), that syn, "filius," "filium," if its final vowel, in its most genuine form, had remained to it, would sound syny, from which synov is the Guna intensitive, the ov of which has arisen from i through the influence

p. 4.): ruku corresponds to the Lithuanian ranka, "hand"; and hus to the Sanscrit thanka, "goose"; for which, according to p. 319. rauka, hausa was to have been expected.

of the vowel following it, but has remained in the genitive plural, also, after the ending has been dropped. Let synov, "filiorum," be compared with the Gothic suniv-é (§. 247.) As, in the Sanscrit, the substantive roots in u adopt the Guna form of the u before the vowels of the derivation suffix, so it is very remarkable that, in the Old Sclavonic roots in y, also, this vowel appears before certain derivation suffixes in its Guna form; e.g. domov-it from dom (DOMY), "house"; binov-at, "debtor," from byn (BYNY)." Derivative substantives and adjectives in ov, ev, (theme ovo, evo, the latter for yovo, see n.), correspond to the Sanscrit in we are; as पान्त्व pândav-a (nominative as), "descendant of Pându"; चातेष årtava, "annual," from चृत् ritu, "a year": so, in Old Sclavonic, Adamov, "Adamite," from Adam (ADAMY); zarev for zaryev, "kingly," from zar (theme ZARGY). For these formations, therefore, we must not, with Dobrowsky (322, 323), assume a suffix ov or ev, but we must look upon the o alone, which, in the nominative, is suppressed, as the derivation suffix (ADAMOV-O, ZAREV-O). Through the Vriddhi increase (§. 29.) the Old Sclavonic y becomes av. because a, according to (a.), usually corresponds to wit a: hence, from the base by, "his," comes the causal baviti (infinitive), as in the Sanscrit भाविष्युम् bhûvayitum. If, however, staviti occurs as the causal of sta, this form may have arisen in the perverted feeling of the language as an irregularly analogous word to baviti. In order, then, still more to establish, by a few other examples, the representation of the Indian with δ or we are by the Sclavonic \hat{u} , we find ust, "mouth," correspond to wit oshta, "lip"; shui, "sinister" (theme SHUYO), to सन्प savya; bûditi, "to awake"—a causal, whose primitive bdyeli has entirely

^{*} Dobrowsky supports himself in these cases by calling ov a prefix (p. 329).

"to awake," from ye budh, "to know." Thus gubiti is the causal of gyb-nû (1. P.), and stúditi of styd-nû (Dobr. 360, 361.); while vyesiti is the causal of visyeti (see e.), as, in the Sanscrit, duffing vésayitum, "to cause to enter," from any viś, "to go in."

(g.)—As the nasals easily resolve themselves into u, so the second element of the diphthong \hat{u} sometimes also supplies the place of a nasal of the kindred languages; e.g. rûka, "a hand," Lithuanian ranka; pûty, "a way," Sanscrit पन्यास् panthás, id. Latin pons; golüby, "a dove," columba; gûsy, "a goose," tu hansa. The Polish has preserved the old nasal in golamb, "a dove," gausie, "a gosling," gausior, "a gander," and in many similar cases. Hereby the \vec{u} in the accusative of bases in a (from with a d), which are for the most part feminine, is remarkably explained; compare vdovů from vdova, "a widow," with विश्ववान् vidhavâm, "viduam." vdovû is to be derived from vdovo-m for vdova-m (see a.); so that the a which is weakened to an o is contracted with the nasal mark of the case to \hat{u} . This view is further supported by the consideration, that in Polish, also, the corresponding feminine declension marks the final vowel of the base with the same sign which, in the middle of a word, expresses a nasal, which is governed according to the organ of the following letter, but at the end, probably through a corruption of sound, is said to have an equal value with a ringing h. This nasalizing mark recurs also in the Polish verb, and, indeed, exactly in such a place where one had to expect a nasal, i.e. in the 1st person singular and 3d person plural; and thus, in Bandtke's second and third conjugation, the so marked e, e.g. in pieke, "I bake," supplies the place of the am of the first conjugation, as czytam, "I read." The Old Sclavonic has, however, excepting some ano-

malous remains of an older formation, \hat{u} in all the conjugations; and, according to what has been said, it admits of no doubt, that in the second part of this diphthong (o + i) the personal character m, and in the first part of the diphthong the conjunctive vowel, is retained. When therefore, in the 1st person, an o corresponds to the $e(\epsilon)$ of nes-e-shi, "thou carriest," nes-e-t, "he carries" for nesû is for nes-o-ŭ for nes-o-m from nes-e-m-it must be assumed that the conjunctive vowel e, before its confluence with the *u*, which has arisen out of *m*, has passed into o; as in Greek ov arises by the contraction of ϵ and o, through the transition of ϵ into o and o into v. The same relation is to be found in the Old Sclavonic in the 3d person plural, where, corresponding to nes-e-m, "we carry," nes-e-te, "ye carry" (comp. $\lambda \acute{\epsilon} \gamma$ - ϵ - $\tau \acute{\epsilon}$), the form nesent is expected, but in place of it occurs nesút in surprising accord with the Greek λέγουσι for λέγονσι from λέγοντι. Polish has, like the Bohemian, relinquished the character of the 3d person in the plural, as well as for the most part in the singular, but everywhere retains, in the first, the old and more powerful a (\mathbf{w}), and marks this with the diacritical sign mentioned above, which, in the middle of a word, supplies the place of a nasal function; thus, sq, "they are," corresponds to the Sanscrit सिन santi, Sclavonic sut. The Bohemian has also, in many conjugations, retained the old conjunctive vowel a in the 3d person plural, but, like the Sclavonic, permitted the n to dissolve into a u; therefore, in wezau, "vehunt" (mez-e-me, "vehimus," mez-e-te, "vehitis"), the u answers to the n of agen vahanti, "vehunt," and the u which, in Bohemian, is united with an a, is essentially different from that which stands alone; for the latter answers to the Old Sclavonic diphthong $\hat{u}(s)$, but the former only to the latter portion of the û, which, in the Old Sclavonic, never stands alone, at least never occurs as \check{u} , but as y(c).

- (h.)—In certain cases an old & (w) unorganically supplies the place of the Sclavonic û, i.e. in the instrumental of pronouns without gender, and all feminines; thus, vdovoy-û, "through the widow," answers to विश्ववया vidhavay-å; and toboy-û, "through thee," to त्वया tvay-å. Denominatives, also, in ûyû (1st per. pres.), in the Old Sclavonic, correspond to the Sanscrit in जायामि तेyami, as श्रन्दायामि śabdayami, "I sound," from ज्ञान्द śabda, "a sound"; चिरायानि chirayami, "I hesitate," from far chira, "long": thus, in the Sclavonic, zielûyû, "I greet," "kiss," from ziel (ZIELO), "healthy"; vdovûyû from vdova, "widow" (Dobr. p. 372.). Finally, words in $\hat{u}n$ ($\bar{U}NO$) answer, as it appears, to the Sanscrit participles of the middle voice, in ana, as वुझान yunjana, "uniting," from युज् yuj; so in the Old Sclavonic, perûn (PERŪNO), "Deus tonans," from the Poot per, "to shake"; byegûn, "runner" (BYEGŪNO), from BYEG, "to run" (Dobr. p. 289.).
- (i.)—There are in the Sclavonic alphabet two marks, which by some are called litteræ aphonæ, but by Gretsch semivowels; I mean the so-called soft yer, and the hard yerr. The former is represented by Gretsch as half i, and by his translator, Reiff (47), as answering to the tones mouillés of French (compare Kopitar, p. 5); and thus schalb, sympathy, and ogonb, fire, are, in respect to the soft yer, compared with the pronunciation of travail and cicogne. This yer, therefore, denotes a tone which is rather to be called a y than an i; and it may be said that in schalb and ogonb one hears quite as much of a y as can be heard of this semi-vowel after a consonant preceding it. Hence we mark it with a y, and write the above words schaly, ogony, Old Sclavonic ogny.

^{*} In the Carniolan dialect this sound has mostly disappeared; but where it has remained it is also written by a y; as, kony, "horse."

[†] In the original jer, pronounced, however, yer; and hence y has been substituted for j in all that follows.—Editor.

In the words, too, which end with it in the uninflected nominative accusative singular, it occurs in several oblique cases as a distinct proper y, e.g. in zarya, "regis," zaryů, "regi," from zary, "rez," "regem." On the consonant which precedes it this yer has an influence which renders its pronunciation more mild, because its sound is somewhat broken by the y, which throws back its sound. Etymologically the yer corresponds either to a final i of the kindred languages, as in yesty, "he is" (with asti, έστί, Lithuanian esti), kosty, "bones" (with asthi), or in the nominative and accusative singular of masculine substantives and adjectives, to a $y \neq y$, from which a vowel has dropped; for the theme of siny, "cæruleus," concludes neither with i nor with y but with yo (euphonically ye, see n.); whose final vowel, suppressed in the nominative and accusative masculine, appears, however, in the feminine sinya, in its extension to a, while the neuter sine for singe has rejected the y.

(k.)—The hard yerr is represented by Gretsch as a semi o, but by Reiff, more correctly in my opinion, it is compared to the French silent e and the Hebrew schva: it is therefore, to use the expression, equivalent to "nothing"; and one cannot perceive of what vowel the small, still perhaps remaining vowel part of it is the residue. Consonants preceding it have a stronger and free pronunciation; and Kopitar (p. 5) tells us that they are pronounced before it sharp, and without echo, and that it is for this reason called the hard yerr, and not on account of its own pronunciation. We require, therefore, in the Roman character, no substitute for this mark, and Dobrowsky also omits it at the end of words. logically, however, this yerr always represents a suppressed mute vowel, only not always an o, nor, as Grimm conjectures (in his valuable Preface to Wuk's Servian Gramm. p. xxxiv.) a u. Rather, each of the three short fundamental vowels—a (as represented also

- by o, e), i, u (for which may stand y, o),—is very frequently dropped at the end of words; and although the i is seldom entirely suppressed, more generally throwing back its sound as y, nevertheless the vowel suppressed after the m of rabo-m, "per servum," and in Russian replaced by yerr, is clearly, as we gather from the Lithuanian, an i.
- (1.)—I believe I may assert, that in the whole extent of the structure of the Sclavonic language, at least in all the conditions of its noun and verb, not a single final consonant occurs after which some termination, which, through the kindred languages can be pointed out as beginning with a vowel, has not been dropped. Thus, the base NEBES, "calum," forms, in the genitive plural, likewise nebes, but the vanished termination is, in Sanscrit, जान् am (नभसान् nabhasam, "cælorum"), Greek $\omega \nu$ ($\nu \epsilon \phi \epsilon(\sigma) \omega \nu$), Latin um, Gothic ℓ . The real final consonants, however, which, in the truly-preserved elder dialects of the Indo-European family, stand as the foundation of the word, have utterly disappeared in Sclavonic polysyllables; e.g. from wa as, es is formed, in the nominative plural, e(e); and synov-e agrees with forms like स्नवस sûnav-as, βότρυ-ες.
- (m.)—As far as regards the writing of those consonants which, in the Sclavonic alphabet, properly correspond to the Roman, we express the sound of the French j (zivjete, in the Carniolan sh), as in Zend (§. 65.), by sch, our German sch (= \P) by sh as in Sanscrit, and also as, in Sanscrit, the tsch by ch: for the sound of the Greek f (=ds) we retain f, and use f for the sound of our German f (=f): for f we write f In regard to etymology, it is important to call attention

^{*} Prof. Bopp writes ch, but he intends a guttural, not a palatal letter, or the sound kh; and it would be a source of perplexity in English to express this by ch, which has its own peculiar articulation.—Editor.

to the relation of this letter to sibilants, by means of which snokha, "daughter-in-law," corresponds to Kh also, in declension the Sanscrit ख्वा snushā. and conjugation before certain vowels, passes into s (Dobr. pp. 39, 41), and in some cases into sh (Dobr. 41.). Finally, in preterites like dakh, "I gave," dakhom, "we gave," the kh returns to the s ($\forall s$, Σ) whence it has proceeded, in the cases where a personal ending beginning with a t follows it; hence, daste, "ye gave," dasta, "ye both" and "they both gave." As the vowels exercise a multifarious influence in the transformation of gutturals preceding them, we will further remark that the kh under discussion maintains itself in the 3d person plural before \vec{u} , but before a appears as sh; hence, dasha or dakha, "they gave."

(n.)—For the semi-vowel y (y) the Cyrillian alphabet gives the Greek i, excepting in the cases for which the inventor of the character has provided by particular letters set together according to their value, which, at the same time, express the y with the following vowel; that is to say, ya is never written by two letters. It would, however, for this reason, be wrong to assume a vowel ya, as this syllable, however it may be written, still always unites in itself two sounds. For ye, also, Cyril has provided by a simple sign, and $y\hat{u}$ is expressed by an o in conjunction with an i. But y often appears in Sclavonic as a dialectic addition before vowels foreign to the kindred languages. Compare yesmy, "I am," yam (for yadmy), "I eat," pyaty, "five," desyaty, "ten," yedin, "one," with the corresponding Sanscrit forms, asmi,

^{*} Dobrowsky has, however, as it appears to me, not perceived the irrefragable connection between the ch of dach and the s of daste, for he considers the ch and ste, &c. as personal terminations (pp. 264. 397. 383); and hence he nowhere informs us that ch before t passes into s. More on this subject when we come to the verb.

admi, panchan, daśan, adi (primus). An o which follows is, in accordance with similar forms which we have observed in the Zend and Lithuanian (§. 137, and p. 174, Rem. *.), changed into e through the influence of a y preceding it. In like manner, in accordance with the Zend and Lithuanian, the y, after it has assimilated a vowel following it, has often itself disappeared, and has left behind only its effect, and thereby the proof of its former existence.*

^{*} Dobrowsky does not express himself with sufficient clearness regarding this form, when he says (cap. II. §. iii.) that o after y and liquid consonants is changed into e. According to this, one would believe that, besides y, certain other consonants had the power of changing an o following them into e. Dobrowsky understands—which, however, as far as I know, he nowhere expressly says—under "consonæ liquidæ," those which, in consequence of a following yer(y), have retained a more flowing and softer pronunciation; while he calls the consonants without yer "consonæ solidæ" (comp. l. c. p. 267); so that no consonant is by nature and of itself alone liquid, but receives this quality through a following yer (a y without a vowel). Thus, in Dobrowsky's second masculine declension, the consonants r, kh, and ζ , in zary, "king," vrakhy, "physician," and knyaζy, "prince," are liquid. But as these words in the instrumental form zarem, brakhem, knyazem, Dobrowsky ascribes the e for o, to the influence of a liquid consonant; while, according to my opinion, the consonants in these forms have no concern whatever in transforming o into e, but for zarem, &c. zaryem must originally have stood. And as in this form the y is the full semi-vowel, not entirely without a vowel sound, and therefore not the expression of the yer without a vowel which softens the consonant preceding it—as in the abbreviated nominative zary—so the r also, in zaryem, was not liquid, and has not, according to my opinion, become liquid after the dropping of the semi-vowel; at least, I find it nowhere stated that the r and other consonants, in forms like sarem, knyačem, golübem, lebedem, are differently pronounced from what they are in pirom, vozom, lobom, adom, of Dobrowsky's first masc. decl. The difference in the two classes of words is only this, that the former have a y for the last letter but one of their theme, which, by the power of assimilation, has changed the following o into e, which e, after the y has been dropped, does not again become o.

256. We must now, in order to be able to compare the true case-suffixes of the Old Sclavonic with those of the kindred languages, first of all endeavour to ascertain the final letter of the kinds of base which occur, as they have for the most part been rubbed off in the singular nominative, whence it has appeared as if these letters, where they again present themselves in the oblique cases, either belonged to the case termination, or were an addition equally foreign to the base and to the termination, which has been termed "augment" by Dobrowsky. After becoming acquainted with the true base, the case terminations assume, in many points, an entirely different shape from what Dobrowsky has represented (p. 460.), with whom we cannot concede to the neuter a nominative ending o or e, but perhaps the advantage of having preserved, in preference to the masculine, the final vowel of the theme in this case. For the practical use of the language, and to keep simply within the limits of the Sclavonic language, all might, notwithstanding, be assumed as inflexion which is usually represented as such. It is not, however, here our object to consider those syllables as supplying the place of grammatical relations which present themselves to the feeling of the speaker as such, but only those which may be so traced through the history of the language, and which, for thousands of years, have subsisted as Grammatical forms.

257. To the masculine and neuter bases in a correspond, in the Old Sclavonic as well as in Greek, bases in o,* which vowel has disappeared in the nominative and accusative singular: so the corresponding a has disappeared in Gothic, except in the neuter (as Gothic blinda-ta,

^{*} Dialectically the older a has, in certain cases, maintained itself, as in the Carniolan, before all inflections beginning with m in the three numbers, as posla-m, "through the domestic," posla-ma, "the two domestics." This word appears to be identical with graputra, "son," Persian puser, "son," "boy," "young man," and to owe its meaning to familiar address.

"cœcum," in contrast with blind'-s, "cœcus"): it has also maintained itself frequently in the beginning of compounds in the Gothic and Old Greek, where, according to the oldest principle, the naked theme is required; as, nov, "novus," appears in many compounds as novo (novo-grad, "newtown"), but is then not to be considered as the neuter novo, "novum," but as the common theme of the masculine and neuter, in which as yet no difference of sex is pointed The clearest proof that the class of nouns under out. discussion corresponds to the Indian, Lithuanian, and Gothic nouns in a, is afforded by their feminine bases in a (for $\forall i$); so that to the form rab (for rabo), "servant," corresponds a feminine raba, "a maid": that is to say, all Old Sclavonic primitive adjectives, i.e. those with an indefinite declension, correspond to the Sanscrit in a-s, d, a-m, Greek o- ς , $\eta(\alpha)$, o- ν , Latin u-s, a, u-m; much as one might be led astray by outward appearance to seek in the adjectives, which in the nominative masculine end in y (yer), and in the neuter in e, as siny, "caruleus," syne, "caruleum," an analogy to Latin adjectives like miti-s, mite.

258. But I recognise in adjectives like that just mentioned, and in similarly-constituted substantives, as knyaζy, "prince," more, "the sea," bases of such a nature as, without the euphonic form mentioned at §. 255. (n.), must have terminated in yo, whence ye; and hence, in the nominative masculine—according to the suppression of the final vowel of the base, y in this case—and in the neuter e retaining the yowel and dropping the y. These bases, therefore, correspond to the Indian in ¬ya, the Greek and Latin in 10, iu (αγιο-ς, αγιο-ν, sociu-s, præliu-m); that is to say, serdze (nominative and accusative neuter), "heart," corresponds to the Sanscrit ¬γα hridaya-m, which is likewise neuter. The feminines, again, afford a practical proof of the justice of this theory, for the Sclavonic bases in ya correspond to the Sanscrit feminine bases in ¬γα (Greek ια, Latin

ia); and this form, in the uninflected nominative, stands opposed to the masculine termination y and neuter e, as sinya, "cæruka," to siny, "cærukus," and sine, "cærukum." When an i or other vowel precedes the last y but one of the base, the y in the nominative and accusative masculine is changed into the vowel i; as, nyetii, "nepos ex sorore" (Dobrowsky, p. 282). The corresponding feminine form is iya, and the neuter ye, the y of which has arisen from i of the form iye, which is to be supposed the original, after dropping the last y but one. To the Sanscrit una savya-s, una savya, una savya-m (sinister, a, um), corresponds thus shûi, shûya, shûe (compare Dobrowsky, p. 285).

259. The Old Sclavonic masculine and neuter bases in yo, with their feminines in ya, are, according to their origin, of four kinds:—1. Those in which, as in $SH\overline{U}YO = was avya$, both the semi-vowel and the vowel following, from the earliest period of the language, belong to the base of the word; and this case is perhaps the most rare.

2. Such as originally end in i, to which an unorganic o has been added; as, in the Lithuanian, the bases in i, in many cases, change into the declension in ia (ie) (§. 193. and p. 174, Rem. *). To this class belongs MORYO, nom. more, "the sea," the e of which therefore differs widely from the mare in Latin, corrupted from mari; so that the Sclavonic y, which again makes its appearance in the genitive morya, dative morya, corresponds to the Latin e spoken of. The Latin word must, however, in order to be

^{*} Where I fix the theme, I leave the euphonic law contained in §. 255. (n.) unregarded, and I give SERDZYO as the theme of serdze ("heart," nom. acc.), although the latter is no other than the theme modified according to that euphonic law, i.e. without inflection, as in the Sanscrit vâch is laid down as the theme, although ch cannot stand at the end of a word, but passes into k, as in the nominative vâk, which is properly identical with the theme.

classed with the Sclavonic, be pronounced in the nominative mariu-m. Neuter bases in i, without an unorganic augment, are entirely wanting in the Sclavonic. Among the masculines of this class of words, khervy, "a worm" (theme KHERVYO), agrees with the Sanscrit some krimi and the Latin VERMI, Old High German WURMI; and \(\zetayaty\) (ζYATYO), "gener," with the Sanscrit siff jati, feminine, "familia," "genus," from जन jan, "to be born." The third kind of bases in yo is that where the unorganic y precedes a final o, according to the euphonic disposition mentioned in §. 255. (n.). So gûsyo $(G\overline{U}SYO)$ corresponds to the Indian ta hansa, "goose" (§. 255. g.). In the fourth place there exist among bases in yo the words in which the y as well as the following vowel is an unorganic addition. Thus nouns of the agent in TARYO correspond to the Sanscrit in my tar (m tri, in the strong cases my tar), to the Latin in $t\partial r$, and to the Greek in $\tau\eta\rho$, $\tau\omega\rho$; hence the nominatives my-tary, schi-tary, and flatary (Dobrowsky, p. 295), and, with y for a, pas-tyry, "shepherd." Of this kind, also, are the nouns of the agent in TELYO, the I of which is clearly an interchange with r (§. 20.), so that this suffix also conforms itself to the Sanscrit my tar; hence the nominatives blago-dyetely, "beneficus," pye-tely, "a cock," from the base pye, "to sing," schately, "messor," spas-i-tely, "salvator."

^{*} ζ frequently answers to the Sanscrit π_j , and indeed is so pronounced: $\pi_j jn\hat{a}$, "to know," in the Sclavonic ζna (infinitive $\zeta nati$).

[†] As these words stand in analogy with the infinitive in ti, in so far that their suffix begins with a like consonant, Dobrowsky (pp. 292, 293) derives them from the infinitive, and allows them simply ely as suffix (as also simple ary for tary), as it has been the custom to derive also, in the Latin, tor and turus from the supine. However, it is certain the suffixes TOR, TURU, and the Sclavonic TARYO, TELYO, used to borrow their t not at first from another syllable of formation so commencing. They form primitive words from the roots themselves, and not derivatives from other words.

260. To the Sanscrit feminine bases in wat a correspond, as has been already remarked, Old Sclavonic in a. this class of words, however, belong also some masculines, particularly proper names, which are then declined entirely as feminines, as in Latin nauta, cælicola, &c. (§. 116.), on which we will not here dwell further. Among the bases in i there are, in Old Sclavonic, no neuters, and only a very small number of masculines—as in Lithuanian which Dobrowsky, p. 469, represents as anomalous, as though they were only irregulars of his second declension masculine: they are, however, in reality, foreign to it, for this very reason, that they end their theme with i, but the former with yo, and in part with yy (§. 263.). It is only in the nominative and accusative singular that these three classes of words, from various reasons, agree; and, gosty, "guest," from GOSTI* (Gothic GASTI, Latin HOSTI) agrees with knya{y, "prince," from KNYA{YO, and vrakhy, "medicus," from VRAKHYY. The masculine bases originally ending with n—there are but a few of them—form most of their cases from a base augmented by i; KAMEN, "stone" (Sanscrit चड्नन asman), is extended to KAMENI, and then follows GOSTI.

261. To the Sanscrit feminine bases in **\vec{v}** i correspond numerous Old Sclavonic bases of a similar termination (Dobrowsky, decl. fem. iv.); that is to say, the Sclavonic agrees with the Sanscrit in the formation of feminine abstracts in TI, as PA-MYA-TI, "memory," nom. pamyaty, from the root MAN, as in Sanscrit **\vec{v}** fin mati (for manti),

^{*} Thus, also, $P\overline{U}TI$, "a way" (Sanscrit \mathbf{ufun} pathin), and $LY\overline{U}DI$, pl. num, nom. lyûdy-s, "people," Gothic LAUDI, nom. lauths, "a person," the au of which, according to §. 255. (f.), is represented by \hat{u} (8), and, according to §. 255. (m.), has gained a prefixed y. GOSPODI, "a master" (comp. \mathbf{ufu} pati, Lithuan. PATI and Gothic FADI) is in fact irregular, as it passes into several kinds of theme in its declension.

"spirit," "meaning," from मन् man, "to think " (compare These words weaken, indeed, in the nominative memini). and accusative, their i to yer, but in no case overstep their original base by an unorganic addition; and hence they must not, on any account, be looked upon as of the same base with the majority of masculines terminating similarly in the nominative and accusative singular. But Dobrowsky's third feminine declension is of a mixed nature (zerkovy, "a church"): in this we recognise some words which have, by Guna, changed a Sanscrit final 3 i to ov; and from this form several cases, as from a base ending with a consonant—e.g. zerkv-e, genitive singular and nominative plural —but so that the o is suppressed before vowel termina-In some cases the theme extends itself by an unorganic i, in others by a; and also before these extensions of the base the o of the syllable ov is suppressed*; e. g. zerkviy-û, "per ecclesiam," zerkvi, "ecclesia," zerkvii, "ecclesiarum," zerkva-m, "ecclesiis," zerkva-ch, "in ecclesiis," zerkva-mi, "per ecclesias." The dative locative zerkvi is doubtful, as this case could have no other sound than zerkvi, whether it come from ZERKOV or from ZERKVI.

^{*} Dobrowsky (p. 355) imputes, in my opinion wrongly, the n of pomyanů, "I remember," and some similar bases, to derivation, instead of supposing that the radical n is suppressed before t, in analogy with the Sanscrit, and as, in Greek, $\tau \acute{a}\sigma \iota \varsigma$ from TAN, Sanscrit affat tati-s, "a line" (as extended), for affat tanti-s.

the example given by Dobrowsky, zerkovy, "a church," nevertheless does not apply to monosyllables, as krovy, "blood" (Sanscrit may kravya, neuter, "flesh"), nor to those polysyllables in which two consonants precede the syllable ov; for yatroach and krvach would be equally impracticable (comp. Gretsch by Reiff, p. 163). Brovy, "eyebrow," also appears to form all its cases from a theme BROVI, an extension of the Sanscrit horizon, feminine, by the addition of i, with a Guna of the in the inominative plural is hence brovi (Dobrowsky, p. 115), not brov e.

Some words of this class have, in the nominative, y, and thus svekry agrees with wat śvaśrû-s, "socrus" (§. 255. c.); others have, at will, ovy or vi, with o suppressed; hence zerkovy or zerkvi.

262. Among bases in u (Greek v) of the kindred languages, only masculines have maintained themselves in the They, like the bases in o, suppress their Old Sclavonic. final vowel in the nominative and accusative, but in the remaining cases this letter shews itself either with Guna changed to ov or \hat{u} (§. 255. f.), or without Guna, as o(§. 255. c.); and in the latter form it appears also in the beginning of compound words as a naked theme. it is more probable, that anciently for syn, "filius," "filium." stood syno rather than syny (§. 255. c.).* With this similar conformation of theme of the old bases in a and u, it is not surprising that two kinds of bases, which in their origin are widely different, run very much into one another in the Sclavonic declension; and that, in the more modern dialects, these two declensions, which were originally so strictly separate, have fallen almost entirely into one.

263. As in the o bases which have arisen from a, a y preceding introduces a difference of declension, which we, in §.258., have represented as purely euphonic, the same phenomenon makes its appearance also in the y bases, by means of which their Guna form is articulated ev (for yev) instead

^{*} We term this class of words, nevertheless, bases in y; for although their final letter never occurs as y, still, according to §. 255. (c.), y is the most legitimate, even if it be the most rare, representative of the Sanscrit $\exists u$. But should it be wished to call them bases in o, they would not be distinguished from the order of words, which, according to §. 257, bear this name with more right. The term u bases would be appropriate only so far as here, under the u, might be understood, not the Old Sclavonic x (etymologically x y y y y but the Sanscrit y y or the Latin y of the fourth declension, which, in the Old Sclavonic, has no real existence.

of ov.* If, however, with Dobrowsky we divide the Old Sclavonic masculines—with the exception of the bases in i, §. 260.—into two declensions, and in doing this desire, as is natural, to ground the division on the final letters of the bases, we must place knyazy, "prince" (nominative) of Dobrowsky's second declension in the first, and by the side of rab, "a servant": on the other hand, the words syn, "son," and dom, "a house," of Dobrowsky's first masculine declension must be transferred to the second declension as mutilated y forms. Of the paradigma here given by Dobrowsky, vrakhy, "medicus," adheres most strictly to the true y declension, and, according to §. 255. (n.), opposes ev to the ov of SYNY. On the other hand, words inflected like zary, "a king" (nominative), clearly form the nominative and genitive plural from bases in i; hence zary-e, "kings," zarii, "of kings," from ZARI; as gosty-e, "hospites," and gostii, "hospitum," from GOSTI. In the dative plural and instrumental singular the form zare-m is doubtful: in this and other words, also, of obscure origin, it remains uncertain whether the more contracted theme in i, or the more extended in yy, is the older; but it is certain that several old i bases have migrated into this declension by an unorganic addition; for instance, ogny, "fire" (nom.), dative ognev-i, from OGNYY, agrees with the Sanscrit with agni, Latin IGNI, Lithuanian UGNI.† It deserves here

^{*} Without Guna, the final of the base is pronounced e for ye from yo (§. 255. n.); and hence, in the cases without Guna the yy bases are just as little to be distinguished in their inflection from the yo bases, as, in the instrumental singular, syno-m (from the theme SYNY) from rabo-m (theme RABO). In the beginning of compound words, also, the yy bases end like those in yo, with e for ye.

[†] As regards words inflected with mravii, the only proof which could bring them under the head of the y bases is the vocative sing. mraviyû: that they, however, although they have borrowed this case from the y declension, originally belong to the o declension, is proved by their feminine in iyu and neuters in iye or ye (Dobrowsky, p. 282).

to be further remarked, that in the more modern dialects of the Sclavonic base, the two masculine declensions here spoken of have been transfused almost entirely into one, which has taken several cases regularly from the old u declension, in which, however, from the point of view of the more recent dialects, e.g. in the genitive plural of the Polish and Carniolan, ov, ow, forms an exception as a case termination. In the Old Sclavonic, also, rab (theme RABO), "a servant," can at will form several cases from a theme RABY (for rabu); and for rab, "servorum," we may also have rabov: and in the nominative plural of this class of words we find also ov-e, according to the analogy of synov-e. On the other hand, the adjective masculine o bases (the indefinites) of the y declension have admitted no irregular trespassings, any more than the pronouns.

264. Bases ending in a consonant are, under the limitation of §. 260., entirely foreign to the masculine: on the other hand, there are neuter bases in en, es, and at (yat), which are important for the system of declension, because the case suffix, commencing with a vowel, divides itself so much the more distinctly from the base ending with a The bases in en correspond to the Sanscrit consonant. in wan, and have preserved, too, in the uninflected nominative, accusative, and vocative, the old and more powerful a, but with the euphonic prefix of a y (see §. 255. n.), and with the suppression of n of the base (see §. 139.). All of them have an m before the termination en; so that men is to be considered as the full formative suffix of the word, which answers to the Sanscrit मन् man—e.g. in कर्मन karman neut., "deed"—and to the Latin men; that is to say, SYEMEN (nominative syemya, "seed," from the base sye) answers to the Latin se-men; and imen, "a name," is a mutilation of नामन् naman, "nomen." The bases in es answer to the Sanscrit neuter bases in as, as nebes,

"heaven," Sanscrit नभस nabhas. In the nominative, accusative, and vocative, they relinquish the concluding s (according to \S . 255. 1.), and afterwards strengthen the e to o (\S . 255. a.). We cannot, therefore, any longer compare the o of nebo with the Sanscrit-Zendian o, which has arisen out of a + u. As in this abbreviation of es to o the neuter es bases in the cases mentioned become similar to the o bases, it is then—on account of the influence of these cases, and because the nominative principally gives the tone in the declension, and shews in the oblique cases as inflection that which is in itself deficient,—it is then, we say, not surprising, if the original o bases at times admit an es in the oblique cases, sometimes in the original great extension of these neuter bases terminating in s (compare §. 241.), which induces the conjecture, that many words, now declined as o bases, were originally domiciled in the bases in es. On the other hand, Dobrowsky proves that there is no admixture of es in the thoroughly legitimate adjective o bases. It is also clear, from §. 255. (1.), that the roots in yat" in the uninflected cases must lay aside the t, and follow σωμα, not महत mahat ("magnum") and caput.

265. Of the class of words in r mentioned in §. 144. two feminine words have remained in the Old Sclavonic which derive most of their cases from the genuine r bases, but in others increase the original base by an unorganic i, or also by ya (compare the Lithuanian in §. 144.): in the nominative singular, however, in accordance with the Sanscrit and Lithuanian, they suppress the r. These are, mati, "mother," and dshchi, "daughter"; in the latter only occurs the increase of the base by ya (in the nominative accusative and dative plural); the declension of the former springs

^{*} They are all derivatives from names of animals, and denote the young of the animal mentioned.

partly from MATER, e.g. mater-e, "matris," and matres $(\mu\bar{\alpha}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho$ -es), partly from MATERI, e.g. matery, "matrem."

266. In order now to pass over to the formation of cases, the nominative and accusative have lost the case signs s and m, with the exception of the bases in a, which present, in the diphthong & (s), a contraction of the vocalized nasal with the final vowel of the base shortened to o (see §. 255. g.); hence vodů, "aquam," from vodo-ŭ. The instrumental has, in the feminine, and the pronouns which have no gender, preserved the genuine Sanscrit inflection; but it is to be remarked of the feminine bases in i that they change this vowel before the termination \hat{u} (for \hat{a} , see §. 255. A.), not into simple y, but into iy; so that in this respect the Old Sclavonic agrees more closely with the Pali, which, in the corresponding class of words, changes the final i before all the vowel endings into iy, than with the Sanscrit. Hence, let kostiy-û, from KOSTI, "bones," be compared with the Pali पीतिया pitiy-a (from piti, "joy"), for the Sanscrit when prity-a. Masculines and neuters have m for their instrumental ending; and this is, I have no doubt, an abbreviation of the Lithuanian mi, and therefore from bi (§. 215.).

267. The dative has, in the singular, a common ending with the locative, and, in fact, the Old Sanscrit i (§. 195.); hence, imen-i, "in nomine," and "nomini"; synov-i, "filio," brachev-i, "medico," from SYNY and BRAKHYY (§. 263.), with Guna.* If the case-sign is suppressed, the preceding ov becomes û, and ev (from yov) becomes yû; hence, also, synû, "filio," with synov-i, and zaryû, "regi," with zarev-i. The o bases, also, in the dative, follow throughout the analogy of

^{*} Hence I am now disposed, contrary to §. 177., to assume for the Lithuanian a common origin for the two cases, although in their received condition they are externally separated from one another, as is the case in Old Sclavonic, also, in several classes of words.

the y bases, but prefer, however, the abbreviated form 4; hence rabû, from RABO, more rarely rabov-i. The o bases of the adjectives, among which there are, in the masculine and neuter, only o bases, and those of the neuter substantives have alone the uninflected form in 4; hence blagû, "bono," masc. neut.; sinyû, "cæruleo," masc. neut.; slovů, "verbo," moryů, "mari": not blagov-i, sinev-i, slovov-i, In masculine names of inanimate things this uninflected form in & extends itself also to the genitive and locative; hence domû, "of the house," "to and in the house": but in the dative is also found domov-i, and in the locative domye.* The pronouns of the 3d person masculine and neuter—with exception of the reflective—have in the dative, in like manner, the uninflected \hat{u} ; for the form mû in to-mû, "to this," is clearly from the Sanscrit adherent pronoun # sma (§. 165. &c.), which has extended itself in the kindred European languages so much, and under such different forms, which, in the Old Sclavonic, would necessarily give the base SMO, from which, after dropping the s, would come the dative mû, as rabû from RABO.

268. While the o bases, as has been shewn above, have borrowed their dative from the y declension, the y bases appear, in the locative, to have intruded on the o class; for synye agrees with rabye, from RABO from RABA (§. 255. a.); but the ye of rabye is, according to §. 255. (e.), clearly from the Sanscrit & e of a vrike from a vrika, and agrees with the Lithuanian wilke from WILKA (§. 197.). As, however, in Lithuanian, from SUNU comes sunu-ye, so may also the Old Sclavonic synye require to be divided into

^{*} Masculine names of inanimate things all follow the declension of dom (theme DOMY), although very few among them, according to their origin, fall into the class of the old $\exists u$, i.e. of the Latin fourth declension, but for the most part correspond to Sanscrit bases in u a.

syn'-ye: and this is rendered the more probable, as the feminine a bases, also, have in the locative ye for a-ye; hence vod'-ye, "in aqua," from VODA, answers to the Lithuanian ranko-ye (for ranka-ye) from ranka.* In bases in i, masculine and feminine, it might appear doubtful whether i, with which they end in the dative locative—e.g. pûti, "in the way," kosti, "in the bone"—is to be ascribed to the theme or to the inflection: as, however, in the genitive, to which belongs an i, though not through any inflection, they have just the same sound, and otherwise never entirely give up the i of the base, except in the instrumental plural, it is more natural to consider the forms pûti, kosti uninflected, just like domû, "in the house." We may also look upon the i in the dative and locative of those bases, which have y as the last letter but one, as nothing else than the vocalization of this y; the i, therefore, of knyaçi, "mori," brakhi, "voli," represents nothing else than the y of the masculine bases $KNYA\zeta YO$, VRACHYY, and the neuter MORYO, and feminine VOLYO.

269. In the genitive the terminations as, os, is, which, in the kindred languages, are joined to bases ending with a consonant, must, according to §. 255. (l.), drop the s, but the vowel appears as e in all the bases ending with a consonant (§§. 260. 264.): hence imen-e, "of the name,"

^{*} It must be allowed that here occurs the very weighty objection, that the feminine form rankoye in the Lithuanian, and vodye in the Sclavonic, might stand in connection with the Sanscrit with dyam in factorial fibraly-am (§. 202.); so that, after dropping the m, as in the Zend (§. 202.), the preceding vowel, which in the Zend is already short, would, through the euphonic influence of the y, become e. As the bases in i in the Lithuanian, down to a few exceptions, are feminine, so might also awiye from awi-s, "a sheep," be divided into awiy-e, and compared with analymaty-am, from mati or fauta bhiy-am from bhi (comp. in §. 266. kostiy-a, for kosty-a, from KOSTI).

answers to नाम्नस् nâmn-as, "nomin-is"; nebes-e, "of the heaven," to कासस nabhas-as, "νέφε(σ)-ος"; mater-e to matr-is, " μητρός." The pronominal forms also follow this analogy: "men-e, "mei," teb-e, "tui," seb-e, "sui," because, in the oblique singular cases, MEN, TEB, SEB are their themes. We recognise the fuller Sanscrit genitive ending wasya in the pronominal genitive termination go, as to-go = $\pi \in ta$ -sya (§. 188.). This comparison might alone be sufficient in place of all proof; but, over and above, is to be remarked the easily adopted hardening of the semi-vowel y to g (comp. p. 121.), and in the Prakrit to w_j (§. 19.); finally, let the high degree of improbability be considered, that the Sclavonic should have formed an entirely new genitive ending, foreign to all the kindred languages. Now, if the g of the termination go is taken for a hardening from $y (\mathbf{q} y)$, then the Old Sclavonic has preserved exactly as much as the Greek of the termination sya; and go answers to the Greek 10, and 10-go, "hujus," to the Greek 70-îo. however, in Sclavonic, the sibilants are easily interchanged with gutturals (see §. 255. m.), one might also conjecture the g of go to be a corruption of the Sanscrit s and the semi-vowel of ea sya, which had been lost. This conjecture cannot entirely be put aside; but in any case, even in this supposition, the termination go remains connected with स्य sya and 10. As, however, in the Old Sclavonic, g is elsewhere exchanged only with ζ and sch (Dobr. p. 41.), but not with s, in my opinion the derivation of g from $y (\mathbf{z}, \mathbf{y})$ is to be preferred to that from s.

270. The substantive and adjective (indefinite) o bases, in disadvantageous comparison with the pronouns which hold fast the old form, have lost the genitive ending go; but for it, in compensation for the lost termination, they have retained the old a of the base, instead of, according to §. 255. (a.), weakening it to o; hence raba, "servi," nova (= Sanscrit nava-sya) "novi." Now, although the y bases in the

genitive end in a, the comparison of the form syna, "filii," with the Lithuanian and Gothic sunai-s, sunau-s, and the Sanscrit sûnó-s (from súnau-s), teaches that the a here is only a Guna element, but foreign to the proper base, as well as to the case-suffix, which, according to §. 255. (b.), must disappear.

271. The feminine bases in a, with the exception of those which have a penultimate y, change that a in the genitive into y; hence vody, "aquæ," from VODA, but volya, "voluntatis," with unaltered base, from VOLYA. I ascribe that y, as well as that in the nominative plural, to the euphonic influence of the s, which originally ends the form (see §. 255. d.): this, however, does not obtain if a y precedes the a; hence volya, "voluntatis," is identical with On the other hand, the feminine pronominal bases in a have preserved a remarkable agreement with the Sanscrit pronominal declension; for if ta, "this" (at the same time the theme), forms to-ya in the genitive, I do not doubt of the identity of the ending ya with the Sanscrit syds (§. 172.), as in the word तस्यास tasyds, of the same import, for the final s must, according to \\$. 255. (1.), give way; but the a of the Sclavonic ya directs us, according to §. 255. (a.), to an Indian w a, just as the preceding o points to a short wa. The irregularity, therefore, in the shortening of the Sclavonic termination lies only in the dropping of the sibilant before y, as, in the Greek, roîo, from **प्रस्प** ta-sya, and in the to-go, for to-(s)yo, mentioned in §. 269.

272. In the vocative, which in the kindred languages is without any case-suffix (§. 204.), o is weakened to e (e) and e to o (§. 255. e.); hence nove (from NOVO, "new"), for Sanscrit e nava, is identical with the Latin nove, and answers to the Greek ve(e) e: from VODA, "water," comes e vodo; but from VOLYA, according to §. 255. (e), vole for volyo: and so from e KNYAeYO, "prince," e knyashe * for

^{* \(\)} before \(e \) becomes \(sh. \)

knyaçye. Bases in yy change their y by Guna to 4 (§. 255. f.), in analogy with §. 205.; hence vrachy4—more commonly, with y suppressed, vrach4—"medice!" from VRACHYY. On the other hand, y bases without y for their penultimate letter commonly omit the Guna, and weaken their final vowel, like the o bases, to e; hence syne, "oh son!" more rarely syn4 (Dobr. p. 470), — Gothic sunau, Lithuanian sunau, Sanscrit sûn8 from sunau.

DUAL.

273. By preserving a dual, the Old Sclavonic surpasses the Gothic, in which this number is lost in the noun: it exceeds, in the same, the Lithuanian in the more true retention of the terminations, and it is richer than the Greek by one case. The agreement with the Sanscrit and Zend is not to be mistaken: let the comparison be made.

| | BANSCRIT. | ZEND. | OLD SCLAVONIC. |
|-----------------|-------------------|-----------|----------------------------|
| N. Acc. V. m. | ubhá (ambo Vêda), | ubā, | oba. |
| f. n. | ubhê, | ubė, | obye (§. 255. n .). |
| I.D. Ab. m.f.n. | ubhā-bhyām, | ubbi-bya, | I.D. obye-ma (§. 215.).* |
| G. L. m. f. n. | ubhay-ôs, | ubôy-ô, | oboy-û.† |

^{*} The ye, which precedes the termination ma, may be compared with the Sanscrit & in plural forms, as a printer orikebhyas: ye-ma, however, occurs in the Old Sclavonic only in dvye-ma, "duobus," "per duos," and some pronouns. The usual form of substantive o-bases before this ending is that with an unchanged o, as sto-ma, from sto, "a hundred"; and the final a of feminine substantives also remains unchanged, as dyeva-ma, from DYEVA, "a girl."

[†] The form \hat{u} , for the Sanscrit ending $\hat{o}s$, is, according to §. 255. (f.) and (l.), necessary: the Zend certainly approaches the Old Sclavonic in casting away the s voluntarily. The oy, which precedes the termination \hat{u} , clearly corresponds to the Sanscrit way ay (see §. 225.) and the

The Sanscrit ubhé, as neuter, comes, according to §. 212., from the theme ubha, in union with the case-suffix i; and the feminine while is an abbreviation of whay-au, and therefore without a case termination (§. 213.). The Old Sclavonic, which runs parallel to the Sanscrit in both genders, and, according to §. 255. (L), opposes ye to the Indian & é, no longer recognises the origin of this ye, and regards it entirely as a case-suffix, before which the final vowel of the theme appears to be suppressed. Therefore, also, neuter bases ending in a consonant make ye their termination, if the imenye, "two names," given by Dobrowsky, p. 513., actually occurs, and is not a theoretic In feminines, however, the termination ye extends, exactly as in Sanscrit, only to bases in a (for Sanscrit 4, §. 255. a.); but in such a manner, that those with y as the last letter but one in the theme reject the termination ye, and vocalize the y of the theme; hence dyevye, "two girls," from dyeva, but steζi, "two steps," from $STE\zeta YA$. The feminine bases in i, in the dual case under discussion, answer to the Sanscrit and Lithuanian forms mentioned at §§. 210. 211., as pati, "two sirs," from usa pati; and, "two sheep," from AWI; only that, according to §. 255. b.), the i in the Sclavonic is not lengthened; as dlani from DLANI (nominative singular dlany),

Zend by or ay (see p. 277); but that occurs only in dvoy- $\vec{u} = \text{Sanscrit}$ dvay-be, "of two," "in two" m. f. n., and in toy- $\vec{u} = \text{Sanscrit}$ tay-be, "of these two," m. f. n. The genitive locatives of the two first persons also rest on this principle, only retaining the older $a - nay\vec{u}$, vay \vec{u} . For the rest, however, the final vowel of the theme is rejected before the termination \hat{u} , as st- \hat{u} (Sanscrit shatay-be) from STO, "a hundred," dyev- \hat{u} from DYEVA, "a girl"; and thus occurs, also, together with $dvoy\hat{u}$, the syncopated form $dv\hat{u}$. Although the Lithuanian generally does not drop the final s, still the \hat{u} mentioned in §. 225. may be identical with the Sclavonic \hat{u} ; as in the Zend, also, in this termination the s is often dropped.

"vola manus." On the other hand, the masculine y bases do not follow this principle, but suppress the final vowel before the case-suffix a; hence syn'-a, "two sons," from SYNY.

PLURAL.

274. In the plural, the masculine nominative termination $e(\epsilon)$ for the most part answers to the Greek ϵ_{S} , and, according to a universal rule of sounds, omits the s (§. 255. l.); hence synov-e, "the sons," for सूनवस sunav-as: compare βότρυ-ες, kamen-e, "the stones," for with the stones," aśmān-as (§. 21.); compare δαίμον-ες, gosty-e, "guests" (theme GOSTI), for the Gothic gastei-s, and Greek forms like $\pi \acute{o}\sigma \iota$ -es. The bases in o take, as in Lithuanian do the corresponding bases in a, i as their termination (see §. 228.), but before this reject the o of the base; hence rab'-i, "servants," for rabo-i (comp. λύκο-ι), as in Latin lup-ī for lupo-i. Neuters have a for their ending, like the cognate dialects, with the exception of the Sanscrit with i for a; nevertheless slova, "verba," from SLOVO—as $\delta \hat{\omega} \rho \alpha$ from $\Delta \Omega PO$ —answers to Vêda forms like vaná, "woods," from vana; and the same thing obtains which, §. 231. p. 267., has been said of Gothic, Greek, and Latin, regarding the relation of the a of the termination to the o of the theme. As regards the bases ending in a consonant, let imen-a, "names," be compared with the Latin nomin-a and Gothic namon-a; nebes-a, "the heavens," with $ve\phi\epsilon(\sigma)-\alpha$; and telyat-a, "calves," with Greek forms like σώματ-α. Feminines, with the exception of the class of words in ov mentioned at §. 261., have lost the nominative ending; hence volya, "voluntates," is the same as the theme and the nominative singular; and from KOSTI, "bones" (Sanscrit asthi, neuter) comes the nominative singular kosty, and the plural like the theme.

275. The accusative plural is, in feminine and neuter nouns, the same as the nominative, and therefore in the former

mostly without inflection, exactly as in the few masculine bases in i; hence gosti for the Gothic gasti-ns. Bases in o, without y preceding, like RABO, change this o into y, as raby, "servos"; at least I cannot believe that this y is to be looked upon as the case-suffix; and I pronounce it to be the euphonic alteration of the o of the base, through the influence of the consonant of the inflection which has been dropped (comp. §. 271.): as in Lithuanian, also, the corresponding class of words often changes the final vowel (a) of the base into u; hence wilku-s, "lupos," answering to the Gothic vulfa-ns and Sanscrit vriká-n. Old Sclavonic bases in y, of animate creatures, form ony in the accusative plural, and thus synovy, "filios," answers to the Lithuanian sunù-s (from SUNU), this very Lithuanian form, as well as the Gothic and Sanscrit sunu-ns, स्तृत् sûnû-n, prove that the Sclavonic form is unorganic, and formed from an augmented theme SY-NOVO, according to the analogy of raby. Bases in yy in this case follow bases in yo (from ya, §. 255. a.), which, preserving the old a sound, give ya, as in the genitive singular (see §. 270.); hence vrachya, "medicos," like knya ya, "principes": but forms, also, like doshdevy, analogous with synovy, occur, following the euphonic rule, §. 255. (n.).

276. The view here given is the more incontrovertible, as in the dative, also, synovo-m, "filiis" (compare rabo-m), is clearly formed from a theme SYNOVO, increased by o, corresponding to the Lithuanian sunu-ms. This dative suffix m, for the Lithuanian ms (from mus, §. 215.), according to §. 255. (l.), extends itself over all classes of words, and appears to be included in bases terminating with a consonant by a conjunctive vowel e; but, in fact, it is to be considered that these, in the cases mentioned, as also in the locative (see §. 279.), pass over into the i declension, as a final i, before the signs of case m and kh, becomes e: and a similar metaplasm occurs in the Lithuanian, and, indeed,

to a much greater extent (§. 125. sub finem, comp. §. 126.); hence imene-m, imene-kh, from IMENI from IMEN, "names," as koste-m, koste-kh, from KOSTI, "bones."

277. Less general is the instrumental ending mi, answering, subject to the loss required by §. 255. (1.), to the Lithuanian mis, Sanscrit bhis, and Zend bis. This termination mi is, however, in masculine and neuter nouns for the most part lost (comp. Dobr. pp. 473. and 477.); and is preserved principally, and indeed without exception, in feminines, as well as in a few masculine i bases: a final i of the base is, however, suppressed before the termination mi. Let kost'-mi be compared with चरियभिस asthi-bhis, from चरिष asthi, "bone"; vdova-mi with विभवाभिस vidhavabhis, from fara vidhava, "a widow." The instrumentals raby, synovy, are, like the accusatives of similar sound, uninflected (§. 275.); the i of knyasi, vrachi, is the vocalization of the y of the bases KYNASYO, VRACHYY, after the loss of the final vowel; and the y of neuters terminating in a consonant is to be explained by a transition into the o declension, and is therefore analogous to raby, slavy, similarly to the o of the Greek dual forms like δαιμόνοιν (p. 318. Rem. 2.)

278. Dobrowsky (p. 461.) represents ov, y, ii, ev, en, yat, and es, as plural genitive terminations; but in reality the suffix of this case has entirely disappeared, and in bases in o, a, and y, has also carried away those final vowels with it, while bases in i double that vowel; hence rab, "servorum," from RABO; vod, "aquarum," from VODA; syn, "filiorum," from SYNY; kostii, "ossium," from KOSTI; imen, "nominum," from IMEN; nebes, "cælorum," from NEBES. The n and s of imen, nebes, would, without the former protection, have fallen under the head of a successive termination, as in Sclavonic we have only a second generation of final consonants; while the former, with the exception of a few monosyllabic forms, has, according to §. 255. (l.), disappeared.

279. The termination of the locative plural is kh throughout all classes of words, and has been already, at §. 255. (m.), recognised as identical with the Indian you, and therefore, also, with the Greek ou: compare, also, the Zend wo kha, for the Sanscrit soa, in §. 35. Before this kh, o passes into ye, exactly as the corresponding Sanscrit a into the service, a into the service, and those in your crike-shu, in lupice. Bases in your and those in you follow their analogy—suppress, however, before this ye, their preceding y, as in similar cases; hence knyagye-kh, in principibus, not knyagyy-kh from KNYAgyo. A final a remains unchanged; hence vdova-kh, in viduis, answers to the Sanscrit vidhava-su. For bases in i, and consonants, see §. 276.

280. For an easier survey of the results obtained for the Old Sclavonic case-formation, we give here, in order to bring under one point of view all the kinds of theme existing in Old Sclavonic, and to render their comparison with one another easy, the complete declension of the bases: RABO, m. "a servant," $KNYA\zeta YO$, m. "a prince," SLOVO, n. "a word," MORYO, n. "a sea" (Dobr. p. 476. §. 11.), VODA, f. "water," VOLYA, f. "will," GOSTI, m. "a guest," KOSTI, f. "a bone," SYNY, m. "a son," DOMY, m. "a house," VRACHYY, m. "a physician," KAMEN, m. "a stone," IMEN, n. "a name," MATER, f. "a mother," NEBES, n. "heaven," TELYAT, n. "a calf."* In those

^{*} The above examples are arranged according to their final letters, with the observation, however, that o represents an original short a, and hence precedes the a for Sanscrit à (§. 255. a.). All bases in t have a y before the preceding a; this semi-vowel is, however, readily suppressed after sibilants; hence ovcha for ovchya, Dobr. p. 475; and hence, also, from lizyo come (nom. lize) the genitive dative and nominative accusative plural liza, lizû, for lizya, lizyû. If in bases in yo, m.n., and in feminines in ya an i precedes the semi-vowel, this involves some apparent variations

forms of the following table in which a part of the word is not separated from the rest, thereby shewing itself to be the inflection, we recognise no inflection at all, i.e. no case-suffix; but we see therein only the bare base of the word, either complete or abbreviated; or also a modification of the base, through the alteration of the final letter, occasioned by the termination which has been dropped (compare §. 271.). In some cases which we present in the notes, base and termination have, however, been contracted into one letter, by which a division is rendered impossible. With respect to the dual, which cannot be proved to belong to all the words here given as specimens, we refer to §. 273.

variations in the declension, which require no particular explanation here (see, by Dobr. mravii, m. p. 468; ladiya, f. p. 478; and üchenye, n. p. 474. With regard to sary, "a king," see §. 263.).

SINGULAR.

| THEME. | NOM. | ACCUS. | INSTR. | DATIVE. | GEN. | LOC. | YOC. |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|----------|--------------------|----------------------|------------------------|----------------------|----------|
| <i>RABO</i> , m. ¹ | rab', | rab', | rabo-m, | rabû,¹8 | raba, ²¹ | rabye,25 | rabe. |
| KNYA (YO, m. | knyaζy', | knyaζy', | knyaζe-m, | knya{yû, | knyaζya,²¹ | knyaζi, | knyaske. |
| SLOVO, n.3 | slovo, | slovo, | slovo-m, | slovů, | slova,21 | slovye,25 | • • • • |
| MORYO, n.2 | more, | more, | more-m, | moryû, | morya, ²¹ | mori, | |
| VODA, f.4 | voda, | vodû,18 | vodoy-û,16 | vod'-ye,19 | vody,22 | vod'-ye,25 | vodo. |
| VOLYA, f.4 | volya, | volyû,¹⁵ | voley-û,¹6 | voli, | volya, | voli, | vole. |
| GOSTI, m. | gosty, | gosty, | goste-m,17 | gosti, ²⁰ | gosti, | gosti, ²⁰ | gosti? |
| KOSTI, f. | kosty, | kosty, | kostiy-û, 16 | kosti, ²⁰ | kosti, | kosti, ³⁰ | kosti |
| SYNY, m.6 | syn', | syn', | s yno-m, 17 | synov-i, | syna, ²¹ | synye,25 | કynû.™ |
| DOMY, m.7 | dom', | dom', | domo-m, | domov-i, | domû, | domű, | dome. |
| VRACHYY, m. | ⁸ vrachy', | vrachy', | vrache-m, | vrachev-i, | vrachya,22 | vrachi, | vrachyû. |
| KAMEN, m.º | kamy',14 | | kamene-m, | kamen-i, | kamen-e, ²⁴ | kamen-i, | |
| <i>IMEN</i> , n. 10 | imya, | imya, | imene-m, | imen-i, | imen-e, ²⁴ | imęn-i, | |
| MATER, f.11 | mati, | | | mater-i, | mater-e,24 | mater-i, | |
| NEBES, n.12 | nebo, | nebo, | nebese-m, | neb es- i, | nebes-e, ²⁴ | nebes-i, | • • • • |
| TELYAT, n. 18 | telya, | telya, | telyate-m, | telyat-i, | telyat-e,24 | telyat-i, | • • • • |

¹ Comp. p. 273. &c. ² See §§. 258. 259. ³ Comp. pp. 275. 276. ⁴ Comp. p. 285.

⁵ Comp. p. 286. ⁶ Comp. p. 288. ⁷ See p. 337. Rem. ⁸ See §. 263.

⁹ Comp. p. 304. The cases wanting come from *KAMENI* (see §. 260.); whence, also, *kamene-m*, *kamene-kh* (§. 266.); and whence, also, might be derived the dative locative *kamen-i*, which I prefer, however, deriving from the original theme, just like *MATER*.

¹⁰ Comp. §. 139. ¹¹ See §. 265. and comp. p. 305. ¹² Comp. p. 306. and §. 147.

¹³ See §. 264. ¹⁴ Dobr. p. 287.

¹⁵ See §. 216.

¹⁶ Comp. Sanscrit jihvay-å, &c. See §. 266.

¹⁷ Comp. Lith. pati-mi, sunu-mi.

¹⁸ Or *rabori*, §. 267.

¹⁹ See §. 268.

The i may also be ascribed to the mark of case, and the dropping of the final letter of the base may be assumed; but in the genitive of the same sound, the i clearly belongs to the theme.

²¹ See §. 270.

²² See §. 271.

²² More commonly *oracha*, and in the vocative *orachū*. See p. 346. Rem.

²⁴ See §. 269.

²⁵ See §. 268.

²⁶ Or syne.

PLURAL.

| Nom. voc.1 | ACCUS. ² | instr. ⁵ | DATIVE.6 | gen. ⁷ | LOCATIVE. |
|------------|---------------------|---------------------|------------|-------------------|--------------|
| rab'-i, | raby, | raby, | rabo-m, | rab', | rabye-kh. |
| knya{i, | knyaζya, | knyaζi, | knyaζo-m, | knyaζy', | knyaζe-kh. |
| slova, | s lova, | slovy, | slovo-m, | slov', | slovye-kh. |
| morya, | morya, | mori, | more-m, | mory', | morye-kh. |
| vody,2 | vody, | voda-mi, | voda-m, | vod', | voda-kh. |
| volya, | volya, | volya-mi, | volya-m, | voly', | volya-kh. |
| gosty-e, | gosti, | gost'-mi, | goste-m, | gostữ, | goste-kh. |
| kosti, | kosti, | kost'-mi, | koste-m, | kostiI, | koste-kh. |
| synov-e, | synovy,4 | synovy,4 | synovo-m,4 | synov, | synovye-kh.4 |
| domov-e, | domy, | domy, | domo-m, | domov, | domo-kh. |
| vrachev-e, | vrachya, | vrachi, | vrache-m, | vrachev, | vrache-kh. |
| | | | kamene-m, | | kamene-kh. |
| imen-a, | imen-a, | imeny, | imene-m, | imen, | imene-kh. |
| mater-e, | • • • • | mater-mi, | matere-m, | • • • • | • • • • |
| nebes-a, | nebes-a, | nebesy, | nebese-m, | nebes, | nebesye-kh.9 |
| telyat-a, | telyat-a, | telyaty, | telyate-m, | telyat, | telyate-kh. |
| | | | | | |

¹ See §. 274. ² See §. 271. ³ See §. 275.

⁴ From SYNOVO, see §. 275. In the locative occurs also synove-ch and synove-kh.

⁵ See §. 277. ⁶ See §. 276. ⁷ See §. 278. ⁸ See §. 279.

[&]quot;One would expect nebese-kh; but in this case ech and yekh are frequently interchanged with one another, and the form yech appears to agree better with the preceding s (comp. Dobrowsky, p. 477).

ADJECTIVES.

281. The declension of the adjective is not distinct from that of the substantive; and if some inflected forms, which in the Sanscrit and Zend belong only to the pronouns, have, in the cognate languages, emerged from the circle of the pronouns, and extended themselves further, they have not remained with the adjectives alone, but have extended themselves to the substantives also. As regards the Greek, Latin, and Sclavonic, we have already explained at §§. 228. 248. and 274. what has been introduced from pronominal declension in those languages into general declension: we will here only further remark that the appended syllable sma, in §. 165. &c., which, in Sanscrit, characterises only the pronominal declension, may in the Pali be combined also, in several cases, with masculine and neuter substantive and adjective bases, and indeed with all bases in a, i, and u, including those which, originally terminating in a consonant, pass by augment or apocope into the vowel declension; thus the ablative and locative singular of késa, "hair," is either simply késá (from késát, see p. 300), késé, or, combined with sma or its variation mha, kėsa-små, kėsa-mhå, kėsa-smin, kėsa-mhi. the Lithuanian, this syllable, after dropping the s, has, in the dative and locative singular, passed over to the adjective declension, without imparting itself to that of the substantive, and without giving to the adjective the license of renouncing this appended syllable; as, géram, "bono," geramé, "in bono." According to this principle it would be possible, and such indeed was lately my intention,

to explain the agreement of the Gothic full adjective dative, as blindamma (from blindasma, §. 170.), with pronominal datives like tha-mma, "to this," i-mma, "to him"; but the examination of the Old Sclavonic declension, in which the indefinite adjectives remove themselves from all admixture of the pronominal declension, and run entirely parallel to the German strong substantive, not to the weak, has led me to the, to me, very important discovery, that Grimm's strong and Fulda's abstract declension form of adjectives diverges in not less than nine points from the strong substantives (i.e. those which terminate in the theme in a vowel), and approaches to the pronominal declension for no other reason than because, like the definite adjectives in the Sclavonic and Lithuanian, they are compounded with a pronoun, which naturally follows its own As, then, the definite (so I now name the strong) adjectives are defined or personified by a pronoun incorporated with them, it is natural that this form of declension should be avoided, where the function of the inherent pronoun is discharged by a word which simply precedes it; thus we say guter, or der gute, not der guter, which would be opposed to the genius of our language; for it still lies in our perception that in guter a pronoun is contained, as we feel with regard to pronouns in im, am, although the pronoun is here no longer present in its original form, but has only left behind its case-termination. comprehending, however, the definite adjective declension, the science of Grammar, which in many other points had raised itself far above the empirical perception of the language, was here still left far behind it; and we felt, in forms like guter, guten, gute, more than we recognised, namely, a pronoun which still operated in spirit, although it was no longer bodily present. How acute, in this respect, our perception is, is proved by the fact that we place the definite form of the adjective beside the ein when deprived of its definitive pronominal element; but in the oblique cases, beside the definite eines, einem, einem, the indefinite ein grosses, eines grossen (not grosses), einem grossen (not grossem). In the accusative, grossen is at the same time definite and indefinite; but in the former case it is a bare theme, and therefore identical with the indefinite genitive and dative, which is likewise devoid of inflection; but in the latter case the n evidently belongs to the inflection.

282. The pronominal base, which in Lithuanian and Old Sclavonic forms the definite declension, is, in its original form, ya (=Sanscrit $\forall ya$, "which"); and has, in the Lithuanian, maintained itself in this form in several cases (see below). In the Old Sclavonic, according to §. 255. (a.), yo must be formed from ya; and from yo again, according to §. 255. (n.), ye or e: but the monosyllabic nature of the form has preserved it from the suppression of the y, which usually takes place in polysyllabic words. In some cases, however, the y has vocalized itself to i after the vowel has been dropped. It signifies in both languages "he"; but in Old Sclavonic has preserved, in union with she, the old relative meaning (i-she, "which"). The complete declension of this pronoun is as follows:—

SINGULAR.

| | LITHUANIAN. | | OLD SCLAVONIC. | | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|-------------|------|------|-----------------|
| Nominative, | m. <i>yis</i> , | f. yi, | m. | <i>i</i> ,* | f. y | a,* | n. <i>ye</i> .* |
| Accusative, | m. yin, | f. yen, | m. | i, | f. y | û, | n. <i>ye</i> . |
| Instrumental, | m. <i>yů</i> , | f. <i>yè</i> , | m. n. | im, | f. y | eyû, | |
| Dative, | m. yám, | f. yei, | m. n. | yemû, | f. y | eĭ, | |
| Genitive, | m. <i>yo</i> , | f. <i>yôs</i> , | m. n. | yego, | f. y | eya, | |
| Locative, | m. yamè, | f. yoyè, | m. n. | yem, | f. y | eĭ, | |

^{*} Occurs only as the relative in union with she.

OLD SCLAVONIC.

PLURAL.

| | | LITHUANI. | AN. | OLD SCLAVONIC. | | |
|---------------|-------|------------------|-----------------|----------------|------|--|
| Nominative, | m. | yie (yi), | f. <i>yos</i> , | m. i,* f. n. | ya.* | |
| Accusative, | m. | <i>પુપૈક</i> , | f. <i>yes</i> , | m. f. n. | ya. | |
| Instrumental, | m. | yeis, | f. yomis, | m. f. n. | imi. | |
| Dative, | m. | yiems, | f. yoms, | m. f. n. | im. | |
| Genitive, | m. f. | yû, | | m. f. n. | ikh. | |
| Locative, | m. | <i>પુપાક</i> રે, | f. yosà, | m. f. n. | ikh. | |

DUAL.

LITHUANIAN.

| Nominative, | m. | yu (yů), | f. yì, | • • • • |
|-------------|------|----------|---------|----------------------------|
| Accusative, | m. | yun, | f. yin, | • • • • |
| Dative, | m. | yiém, | f. yom, | Instr. Dat. m. f. n. yima. |
| Genitive, | m. 1 | f. yû, | | Gen. Loc. m. f. n. yeyû. |

283. The Lithuanian unites, in its definite declension, the pronoun cited—which, according to Ruhig (Mielcke, p. 52.), signifies the same as the Greek article—with the definitive adjective; so that both the latter, and the pronoun, preserve their full terminations through all the cases; only the pronoun in some cases loses its y, and the terminations of the adjective are in some cases somewhat shortened. Géras, "good," will serve as an example.

MASCULINE.

| Nominative, Accusative, | singular. gérasis,† | dual. gerûyu, | plural. ge ri eyi. gerûsus, |
|----------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| _ | geranyan, | geruyun, | • |
| Instrumental, | gerûyu, · | | geraiseis. |
| Dative, | gerámya m , | gi ri emsiom, [‡] | geriemsiems. |
| Genitive, | geroyo, | | gerínyû. |
| Locative, | geramyame, | • • • • | gerü süs e. |
| Vocative, | gerasis, | gerüyu, | gerieyi. |

^{*} See Note on preceding page.

[†] Or gerassis, by assimilation from gerasyis, as, in the Prakrit, y frequently assimilates itself to a preceding s, as tassa, "hujus," for new tasya.

[‡] The s of the adjective is here not in its place, and appears to be borrowed from the plural.

FEMININE.

| | SINGULAR. | DUAL. | PLURAL |
|---------------|------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Nominative, | geroyi, | gerieyi, | gerosos. |
| Accusative, | geranyen, | geriyin, | gerases. |
| Instrumental, | gerayè, | | geromsomis. |
| Dative, | gera iye i, | ger6msom,* | geromsoms. |
| Genitive, | gerosiês, | geríny û , | geríny û , |
| Locative, | geroyoye, | | gerososa. |
| Vocative, | geroyi. | geriyi, | gerosos. |

284. The Old Sclavonic, differing from the Lithuanian, declines only in some cases the adjective together with the appended pronoun, but in most cases the latter alone. While, however, in the Lithuanian the appended pronoun has lost its y only in some cases, in the Old Sclavonic that pronoun has lost, in many more, not only the y but also its vowel, and therefore the whole base, and the termination alone is left. For more convenient comparison we insert here, over against one another, the indefinite and definite declension: svyat (theme svyato), "holy," may serve for example:

| SING | UL | AR. |
|------|----|-----|
|------|----|-----|

| | MASCULINE. | | PEMIN | INE. |
|---------------|------------|------------|-----------|-------------|
| | Indef. | Def. | Indef. | Def. |
| Nominative, | svyat, | svyaty-ĭ,¹ | svyata, | svyata-ya, |
| Accusative, | svyat, | svyaty-ĭ,¹ | svyatů, | svyatû-yû, |
| Instrumental, | svyatom, | svyaty-m,1 | svyatoyû, | svyato-yû,3 |
| Dative, | svyatû, | svyato-mû, | svyatye, | svyato-i,4 |
| Genitive, | svyata, | svyata-go, | svyaty, | svaty-ya, |
| Locative, | svyatye, | svyato-m,2 | svyatye, | svyato-i,4 |

^{*} See Note † on preceding page.

¹ See §. 255. d. ² Or svatye-m, in which, as in the Lithuanian, the adjective is inflected at the same time.

The indefinite and definite forms are here the same, for this reason, that svato-yeyû, as the latter must originally have been written, has dropped the syllable ye. The adjective base svyata has weakened its o to a before the pronominal addition (§ 255. a.), just as in the dative locative svyato-i, where an external identity with the indefinite form is not perceptible.

4 Or svyatye-i. Comp. Rem. 2.

PLURAL.

| | MASCULINE. | | Pemini | NE. |
|---------------|------------|--------------------------|------------|--------------------------|
| | Indef. | Def. | Indef. | Def. |
| Nominative, | svyati, | svyati-i, | svyaty, | svyaty-ya, |
| Accusative, | svyaty, | svyaty-ya, | svyaty, | svyaty-ya, |
| Instrumental, | svyaty, | svyaty-imi, ⁵ | svyata-mi, | svyaty-imi, ⁷ |
| Dative, | svyatom, | svyaty-imi, ⁵ | svyata-m, | svyaty-im.7 |
| Genitive, | svyat, | svyaty-ikh, | svyat, | svyaty-ikh. |
| Locative, | svyatyekh, | svyaty-ikh, ⁵ | svyata-kh, | svyaty-ikh. |

SINGULAR

PLURAL.

NEUTER.

Indef. Def. Indef. Def.

Nom. Accus. svyato, svyato-e, svyata, svyata-ya.

The rest like the masculine.

⁵ I give those forms which, according to Dobrowsky (p. 302.), occur in the oldest MSS., in place of the more ordinary forms, which have lost the i of the pronominal base: svyaty-mi, svyaty-m, svyaty-kh.

Although in the pronominal declension the genitive plural is externally identical with the locative, we must nevertheless, in my opinion, separate the two cases, in respect to their origin. I find, however, the reason of their agreement in this, that the Sanscrit, which in this case is most exactly followed by the German and Sclavonic, in pronouns of the third person begins the plural genitive termination with s, Sanscrit sām, Gothic zê (for sē, §. 248.). This s, then, has, in Old Sclavonic, become kh, just like that of the locative characteristic z su (§. 279.). The nasal of the sām must, according to rule, be lost (§. 255. l.): the vowel, however, has, contrary to rule, followed it, as also in the ordinary declension the termination ām has entirely disappeared (§. 278.); and the same relation which imen, "nominum," has to the Gothic naman-ē, tye-kh, "horum," has to thi-ze. This tye-kh, however, answers as genitive to the Sanscrit attachām, and as locative to attachu; ye being used in both for zē, according to §. 255. (e.)

⁷ See Rem. 5 and 6. The identity with the masculine neuter forms arises from this, that the grave a of the feminine adjective base is changed into the lighter o; and this again, as in the masculine and neuter, is converted, according to §. 255. (d.), into y.

285. As in the Sanscrit the preponderating majority of adjective bases end in the masculine and neuter in a, and in the feminine in 4; and as this class is, in the Old Sclavonic, only represented by bases in o, yo in the masculine and neuter (see §. 257.), and a, ya in the feminine; it is not surprising that in German also, with the exception of a few in u (of the comparative and participle present), all other adjective bases, in their original condition, end in a, feminine o for & (§. 69.). It is, however, remarkable, and peculiar to the German, that its adjectives, in their indefinite condition, have all lengthened their theme by an unorganic n, and that in substantives the class of words in n appears to be the most generally made use of, inasmuch as a large number of words, whose bases in Gothic terminate in a vowel, have, in the more modern dialects, permitted this to be increased by n. The reason, however, why the indefinite adjectives—not simply in part, and for the first time in the more modern dialects, but universally, and so early as in Gothic—have passed into the n declension, is to be sought for in the obtuseness of the inflection of this class of words, which, according to §§. 139. 140., in common with the Sanscrit, Latin, and Greek, omits the nominative sign, and then, in variance from the older languages, dispenses also with the dative character, upon the loss of which, in Old High German, has followed, also, that of the dative character. sence of the animating and personifying mark of case might belong to the indefinite adjective, because it feels itself more exactly defined through the article which precedes it, or through another pronoun, than to the definite adjective, the pronoun of which, incorporated with it, has for the most part left behind only its case terminations. In the Lithuanian and Sclavonic, in which the article is wanting, and thereby an inducement further to weaken the declension of the indefinite adjectives, the latter stand on an equal footing with Grimm's strong declension of substantives, i.e. they maintain themselves, without an unorganic consonant augment, in the genuine, original limits of their base.

286. As the feminine, where it is not identical, as in adjective bases in i in the Sanscrit, Greek, and Latin, with the theme of the masculine and neuter, is always, in the Indo-European family of languages, made to diverge through an extension or an addition to the end, it is important for German Grammar to remark—and I have already called attention to this point in another place that the feminine of the German indefinite adjective, in variance from the principle which has been just given, has not arisen from its masculine, but from an older form of the feminine; e.g. the primitive BLINDA m. n., "blind," has extended itself in the indefinite to BLINDAN, and the primitive feminine $BLIND\bar{O}$ to $BLIND\bar{O}N$: one must not, therefore, derive the latter, although it is the feminine of BLINDAN m., from this, as it is entirely foreign to the Indo-European family of languages to derive a feminine base through the lengthening of the last letter but one of the masculine neuter. As far as regards the declension of BLINDAN m., it follows precisely that of AHMAN (p. 322.), and BLINDAN n., that of NAMAN (p. 176. &c.): the fem. $BLIND\overline{O}N$ differs from the masculine only by a more regular inflection, since its θ remains everywhere unchanged, while a, in the genitive and dative singular, is, according to §. 132., weakened to i; therefore—

| MASCU | JLINE. | NEU | TER. | FEMIN | IINE. |
|------------------|------------|--------------------|---|-----------------|-------------|
| Theme, BLINDAN. | | BLINDAN. | | $BLINDar{O}N$. | |
| SINGULAR. | PLURAL. | SINGULAR, | PLURAL. | SINGULAR. | PLURAL. |
| N. V. blinda, 1 | blindan-s, | $blind \delta^{2}$ | blindôn-a,2 | blindő, | blindôn-s. |
| Acc. blindan, | blindan-s, | $blind \delta,^2$ | blindôn-a,2 | blindôn, | blindón-s. |
| Dat. blindin,1 | blinda'-m. | blindin,1 | blinda'-m, | blindôn, | blindő -m. |
| Gen. blindin-s,1 | blindan-ê, | blindin-s, | 1 bli n dôn- $^{\ell}$, 2 | blindôn-s, | blindûn-ô.3 |

¹ See §. 140.

² See §. 141.

³ See §. 245.

287. In order, then, to examine the definite declension of adjectives in Gothic, we will, in the first place, for the purpose of bringing into view their agreement and discrepancy with substantives and simple pronouns, place by the side of each other the declension of the definite BLINDA m.n. and BLINDO f., and that of VULFA m., "wolf," DAURA n., "a gate," GIBO f., "a gift," and the interrogative HVA m.n., "who?" "what?" HVO f.; further, that of MIDYA m.n. (medius), MIDYO f., by that of HARYA m., "an army," BADYA n., "a bed," KUNTHYO f., "news," and HVARYA m.n., "who?" "what?" HVARYO f.

MASCULINE.

| | SINGULAR. | | 1 | PLURAL. | |
|--------------|----------------------|-------------|----------------------|-------------------|------------|
| N. vulf's, | blind's, | hva-s,1 | vulfós, ² | bl in dai, | hvai,3 |
| A. vulf, | blindana, | hva-na, | vulfa-ns, | blindans, | hva-ns. |
| D. vulfa,4 | blindamma, | hva-mma,5 | vulfa-m, | blindaim, | hvai-m. |
| G. vulfi-s, | blindis, | hvi-s, | vulf`-ê, | blindaizė, | hvi-zê. |
| V. vulf, | blind's, | | vulfðs, | blindai, | , |
| N. haryi-s,6 | midyis, ⁷ | hvaryi-s, | haryôs,2 | midyai, | hvaryai.3 |
| A. hari,8 | midyana, | hvarya-na, | harya-ns, | midyans, | hvarya-ns. |
| D. harya, | midyamma, | hvarya-mma, | harya-m, | midyaim, | hvaryai-m. |
| G. haryi-s, | midyis, | hvary-is, | hary-ê, | midyaizê, | hvaryaizê. |
| V. hari, | midyis, | | haryôs, | m idyai, | • • • • |

¹ See §. 135.

⁴ See §. 160.

⁵ See §. 171.

² See §. 227.

³ See §. 228.

[•] From harya-s, see §.135.

The nominative in adjective bases in yn does not occur, unless perhaps in the fragments which have last appeared; and I have here formed it by analogy with haryis and hvaryis. Grimm gives midis (I.720.). If, l.c., the form yis is considered as unorganic, and, in regard to midis, if its analogy with hardus is remembered, then Grimm is wrong in taking midi for the theme, as in reality hardu is the theme of hardus. The true theme MIDYA occurs, however, in the comp. midya-sveipains, "deluge," and

NEUTER.

| N. A. V. | daur', | blindata, The rest | hva. ⁹ like the ma | daura, sculine. | plural. <i>llinda</i> , | hvô. 10 |
|----------|--------|--------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|---------|
| N. A. V. | badi, | midyata,9 | hvarya-ta. | dadya, | midya, | hvarya. |

PEMININE.

The rest like the masculine.

| SINGULAB. | | | PLURAL. | | |
|------------------------|--|---|---|---|--|
| bli n da, | hob. | gibôs,² | blindós, ² | hvős.2 | |
| blinda, | hvő. ¹¹ | gibô-s, | blindôs, | hv0-s. | |
| blindai, ¹² | hvizai. ¹³ | gibô-m, | blindaim, | hvai-m. | |
| blindaizós, 13 | hviz6-s.13 | gib`-ô, | blindaizó, | hvi-zô. | |
| bli n da? | | gibôs, | bli n dôs, | , . | |
| midya, | hvarya. | kunt hyős, ² | midyôs, ² | hvaryos.2 | |
| midya, | hvarya. | kunthyô-s, | midyðs, | hvaryô-s. | |
| midyai, 12 | hvaryai. 12 | kunthyô-m | , midyôm, | hvary6-m. | |
| midyaizôs, | hvaryaizôs, 13 | kunthy'-ô, | midy'6, | hvary's. | |
| midya, | | _ | midy6 s , | hvaryôs. | |
| | blinda, blinda, blindai, blindai, blindaizós, blindaizós, blinda? midya, midya, midyai, midyaizós, | blinda, hvb. blinda, hvb. blindai, hvizai. blindai, hvizai. blindaizos, hvizo-s. blinda? midya, hvarya. midya, hvarya. midyai, hvaryaizos, hvaryaizos, hvaryaizos, | blinda, hvb. gibbs,² blinda, hvb.¹¹¹ gibb-s, blindai,¹² hvizai.¹³ gibb-m, blindaizbs,¹³ hvizb-s.¹³ gibʻ-b, blinda? gibbs, midya, hvarya. kunthybs,² midya, hvarya. kunthyb-s, midyai,¹² hvaryai.¹² kunthyb-m, midyaizbs, hvaryaizbs,¹³ kunthy'-b, | blinda, hv6. gib6s, blind6s, blinda, hv6. gib6-s, blind6s, blindai, hvizai. gib6-m, blindaim, blindaiz6s, hviz6-s. gib6-m, blindaiz6, blinda? gib6s, blind6s, blinda? gib6s, blind6s, midya, hvarya. kunthy6s, midya, hvarya. kunthy6-s, midy6s, midyai, hvaryai. kunthy6-s, midy6m, midyaiz6s, hvaryaiz6s, kunthy6-m, midy6m, midyaiz6s, hvaryaiz6s, kunthy6-s, midy6, | |

answers to the Sanscrit was madhya. Formed from midya as theme, midyis would be clearly more organic than midis. Adjective i bases, which could be referred to hardu-s as u base, do not exist, but only substantive, as GASTI, nom. gasts.

^{*} Compare Zend forms like ξηληφο tûirim, " quartum," from μης τûirya (§. 42.).

⁹ Hva, with suppressed termination, for hvata, Old High German huaz, see §§. 155. 156.; for blindata also blind; and so for midyata also midi.

The form $hv\delta$, which, like some others of this pronoun, cannot be shewn to occur, is, by Grimm, rightly formed by analogy from $th\delta$, "hæc." Grimm here finds, as also in the accusative singular, the δ in opposition to the a of blinda surprising: the reason of the deviation, however, is fixed by §§. 69. 137. 231.

¹¹ See p. 173. Rem. †. ¹² See §. 161. ¹³ §. 172.

¹⁴ For kunthya, from kunthyó, by suppression of the final vowel of the base, which again appears in the accusative, but shortened to a (see §. 69.); but here, also, the final vowel can be dropped; hence kunthi as accusative. Luc. 1.77.

If, then, it is asked which pronoun is contained in the German definite adjective, I answer, the same which, in Sclavonic and Lithuanian, renders the adjective definite, namely, the Indian relative ya (\(\begin{array}{c} \mu ya\end{a}\). This pronoun in German, indeed, in disadvantageous comparison with the Lithuanian and Sclavonic, does not occur isolated in its inflected state; but it is not uncommon in the history of languages, that a word has been lost in regard to its isolated use, and has been preserved only in composition with other words. It should be observed, too, that a demonstrative i base must be acknowledged to belong to the Sanscrit, which, in Latin, is completely declined; in Gothic almost completely; but in Sanscrit, except the neuter nominative accusative idam, "this," has maintained itself only in derivative forms, as इति i-ti, इत्यम् it-tham, "so," इयत् iy-at, "so much," \$\frac{1}{2}\text{sq} i-drisa, "such." The case is the same in Gothic, with the pronominal base ya: from this comes, in my opinion, the affirmative particle ya, as in other languages, also, affirmation is expressed by pronominal forms (i-ta, πτι ta-tha, "so," οὖτως), and further yabai, "if," analogous with ibai, "whether," ibaini, "not with that"; as also, in Sanscrit, यदि yadi, "if," comes from the same base, to which, as I now believe, the Greek ei—the semivowel being laid aside—has the same relation as in Prakrit, in the 3d person singular present, ai, अमइ bhamai, "he wanders" (Urvasi by Lenz, p. 63.), has to the more usual चादि adi, Sanscrit चाति ati. In Prakrit, too, जह jai (l. c. p. 63. on j for y, see §. 19.), really occurs for yadi; so that in this conjunction, as in the 3d person of the present (λέγει from λέγετι), the Greek runs parallel to the cor-If, however, in ei the Sanscrit ruption of the Prakrit. Ψ y has disappeared, as in the Æolic $\psi\mu\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ = Sanscrit yushme, it appears as h in $\delta\varsigma$, which has nothing to do with the article δ , η , where h falls only to the nominative masculine and feminine, while in os it runs through all the cases, as

in Sanscrit the \mathbf{q} y of $\mathbf{q}\mathbf{q}$ ya-s. To this $\mathbf{q}\mathbf{q}$ yas, δ_{ς} , in regard to the rough breathing, bears the same relation as $\dot{\nu}\mu\epsilon\hat{\imath}\varsigma$ to $\mathbf{q}\mathbf{q}$ yushme, $\dot{\alpha}\zeta\omega$, $\ddot{\alpha}\gamma\iota\circ\varsigma$ to $\mathbf{q}\mathbf{q}$ yaj, "to adore," "to sacrifice," $\mathbf{q}\mathbf{q}\mathbf{q}$ yajya, "to be adored;" $\dot{\nu}\sigma\mu\dot{\nu}\nu$ to $\mathbf{q}\mathbf{q}$ yudh, "to strive," $\mathbf{q}\mathbf{q}\mathbf{q}$ yudhma, "strife" (comp. Pott, pp. 236. 252.). But to return to the Gothic YA, let us further observe yah; and also, with h enclitic, whence later yu, "now," i.e. "at this time," "already" (comp. Latin jam). It also clearly forms the last portion of hvar-yis (for yas), as, in the Sclavonic, this pronoun often unites itself with almost all others, and, for example, is contained in ky-i, "who?" although the interrogative base also occurs without this conjunction.

288. In Gothic definite adjectives the pronominal base YA shews itself most plainly in bases in u. Of these, indeed, there are but a few, which we annex below, but a ya shews itself in all the cases, and these in blinds differ from the substantive declension, to such an extent that before the y the u of the adjective is suppressed, as in Sanscrit before the comparative and superlative suffixes iyas, ishtha; e.g. laghiyas, more light, laghishtha, most light, for laghv-iyas, laghv-ishtha from laghu; and as, even in Gothic, hard-izb, more hard (according to

^{*} The h may assimilate itself to the initial consonant of the following word, and thus may arise yag, yan, and yas, and in conjunction with the: yatthe, "or" (see Massman's Gloss.).

⁺ Aggous, "narrow," aglus, "heavy," glaggous, "industrious," hardus, "hard," manvus, "ready," thaursus, "dry," thlaqvus, "tender," seithus, "late," filus, "much," and, probably, hnasquus, "tender." Some occur only as adverbs, as glaggou-ba, "industriously." In addition to the adverb filu, "much," since Grimm treated this subject the genitive filaus has been found (filaus mais, "for much more," see Massmann's Gloss.), which is the more gratifying, as the adjective u bases had not yet been adduced in this case.

Massmann, p. 48.), for hardv-izô from HARDU. Hitherto, however, only the accusative singular masculine thaursyana, "siccum," mano'-yana, "paratum"; the accusative singular neuter manv'-yata; the dative plural hnasqv'yaim; are adduceable, if Grimm, as I doubt not, is right in ascribing to this word, which is not to be met with in any other case, a nominative *knasquus*.* Finally, also, the accusative plural masculine ummanv'-yaus, ἀπαρασκευάστους (2 C. 9. 4.), although, in this case, blindans is not different from vulfans. These examples, then, although few, furnish powerful proof; because, in the cases to be met with, they represent an entire class of words—viz. the definite adjective in w-in such a manner, that not a single variety of form occurs. It may be proper to annex here the complete definite declension of MANVU, as it is either to be met with, or, according to the difference of cases, is, with more or less confidence, to be expected:—

MASCULINE.

FEMININE.

| | SINGULAR. | PLURAL. | SINGULAR. | PLURAL. |
|-----|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|
| N. | manvu-s, | manv'-yai), | manvu-s, | (manv`-ybs). |
| Ac. | manv'-ya-na, | manv'-ya-ns, | (manv'-ya,) | (manv'-yôs). |
| D. | (manv'-ya-mma), | manv'-yai-m, | (manv'-yai), | (manv'-yaim). |
| G. | manvau-s, | (manv-yaizė), | (manv'-yaizôs), | (manv'-yaizo). |

NEUTER,

SINGULAR. PLURAL.

Nom. Accus. manv'-ya-ta,* (manv'-ya).

^{*} I am the more inclined to agree with him, as a few other adjective bases in vu occur. Perhaps a euphonic influence of the v on the vowel which follows it is also at work; as at times one finds in the Prakrit a final a changed through the influence of a preceding in, in, in, or is it to in u. So Urvasi, p. 72, alu, talu, avaranu, for kala, tala, avarana; p. 71, manoparu for manopara.

^{*} Without inflection and pronom. manvu, as सादु svådu, nòú, Lithuanian darkû.

"Remark 1.—Grimm finds (I. 721.) the identity of the feminine with the masculine remarkable, since he, as it appears, looks upon s for an originally mere masculine termination (comp. l. c. 824, 825. 2. 3.). That, however, the feminine has equal claim to s as the nominative character, and that it is entirely without inflection where this is wanting, I think I have shewn in §§. 134. 137. Adjective bases in i, which in the Gothic, as in the Lithuanian and Sclavonic, are wanting, end, in the Sanscrit, Greek, and Latin, in the nominative of both genders, in is; and only the neuter is devoid of inflection: compare ज्या śuchi-s m. f., "clean," śuchi n., with ίδρι-ς, ίδρι, facili-s, facile. Adjectives in u, in Sanscrit, frequently leave, in like manner, the feminine base undistinguished from the masculine neuter, and then end, according to §. 234., in the nominative in u-s; so pandu-s m. f., agrees with manvu-s above, and the neuter pandu If two consonants do not precede the final with manvu. ਰ u, as in pandu, the feminine base may, except in compound words, be lengthened by an i, which is particularly characteristic of this gender; and thus end sodden, "the sweet" (theme and nominative), answers to the Greek word $\eta \delta e \hat{a}$, which is lengthened by an unorganic a (§. 119.), for ηδFια; and svadu-s answers both as feminine and masculine nominative to the Gothic manuus. In the Sanscrit, also, a short u in the feminine base may be lengthened, and thus the feminine of तन् tanu, "thin," is either like tanu or tanú, whence the nominative tanú-s; and tanví, as substantive, means the "slender woman." The Lithuanian has adjective bases in u, as szwiesu-s, m. "light," "clear," (compare win śvéta, "white,") which nevertheless, in several cases, replace the u by a; as, szwiesám dangui, "to the bright heaven": in some, too, they prefix an i to the a, the assimilating power of which changes the a into e (comp. p. 169. Rem.); as, szwiesiems dangums, "to the bright heavens." The feminine is, in the nominative, szwiesi, the final i of which is evidently identical with the Sanscrit in svádví. In the oblique cases, however, an unorganic a also is added to the Lithuanian i, as it has been in hoêca: this ia, however, becomes either, by euphony, e (comp. p. 174. Rem. *), e.g. accus. szwiesen, accus. plural szwiesès; or it happens in the majority of cases that the i is entirely suppressed, so that SZWIESA passes as the theme; as szwiesès rankòs, "of the bright hand" (gen.), szwiesai rankai (dat.). The i of ia, however, appears, as with the participles, to have communicated itself from the feminine to the masculine.

"Remark 2.—With the accusative manuyana which has been cited, the conjectured dative manuyamma is least doubtful. That Grimm should suggest forms like hardvamma, hardv-ana, arises from his regarding amma, ana, as the dative and accusative terminations of the pronoun and adjective; while, in fact, the terminations are simply mma and na. When, therefore, HARDU, in the dative and accusative, without annexing a pronoun, follows nevertheless the pronominal declension, the cases mentioned must be written hardu-mma, hardu-na, analogous with tha-mma, tha-na, i-mma, i-na. If, however, contrary to all expectation, forms like hardvamma, hardvama, shew themselves, they must be deduced from hardu-ya-mma, hardu-ya-na; so that after suppressing the y, the preceding u, in the place in which it would be left, has passed into v. With regard to blindamma, blindana, blindata, it is doubtful whether they ought to be divided blind-(y)amma, blind-(y)ana, blind-(y)ata, as analogous with manv(u)-yamma, manv(u)yana, manv(u)-yata, or blinda-(ya)mma, &c.: I have therefore left them, as also the corresponding forms from MIDYA, undivided. If the division blinda-mma, &c. is made, nothing is left of the pronoun, as in the Old Sclavonic dative svyato-mû, and as in our expressions like beim, am, im, except the case-termination, and the adjective base

has preserved its a. If, however, the division blind-amma, &c. is made, to which I now give the preference, and which is also adopted by Grimm, though from a different point of view, then the pronoun has only lost its y, as in some cases of the Lithuanian definite, e.g. in gerus-us for gerus-yus (see p. 353); and with respect to the y which has been dropped and the vowel which is left, blind-amma would have the same relation to blind-yamma as midums, "the middle man" (theme MIDUMA), to its Sanscrit kindred form of the same import, was madhyama, whose relation to MIDUMA I thus trace—the latter has softened the first a to i, and has changed the middle a, through the influence of the liquid, into u; and both, however, have, according to §. 66., suppressed the semi-vowel.

"Remark 3.—Although, in the accusative plural masculine, blindans is not different from vulfans, and the simple word BLINDA could not form aught but blinda-ns; nevertheless the word manv'-yans, mentioned above, which is of the highest importance for the Grammar, as well as the circumstance that where any inflections peculiar to the pronoun admonish us of the existence of an inherent pronoun in the definite adjective, this inherence really exists; —these two reasons, I say, speak in favour of dividing thus, blind-an, and of deducing it from blind-yans. Just in the same manner the dative blindaim, both through the aim, which occurs elsewhere only in pronouns, as through the word hnasqv'-yaim, mentioned above, declares itself to be an abbreviation of blind'-yaim; but blindai proves itself only by its pronominal inflection (compare thai, hvai, Sanscrit ते té, के ké) to be an abbreviation of blind-ya.

"Remark 4.—In the Sanscrit, in some cases an i blends itself with the final a, which, with the a of the base, becomes é: hence the instrumental plural of the Vêda dialect and of the Prakrit, which asvé-bhis from asva, syafté kusumé-hin from kusuma. To this é answers the ai in

Gothic pronominal datives like hvai-m, "quibus," thai-m, "his"; as the German dative, in accordance with its origin, is identical with the old instrumental. We were, however, compelled, before we had a reason for seeking the pronoun YA in the Gothic definite adjective, to give to the extension of the base a wider expansion in German by an i which means nothing, than it has in the Sanscrit; while we have now every reason, where, in Gothic definites, an i unsubstantiated by the oldest grammar shews itself, to recognise in the i a remnant of the pronominal base YA, either as a vocalization of the y, which so often occurs in the Sclavonic (see p. 354.), or the i may be considered as an alteration of the a of YA, as in the Lithuanian geras-is for geras-yis (p. 353.) The latter view pleases me the better because it accords more closely with blind'-amma, blind-ana, &c., from blind'-yamma, blind'-yana. The vowel, then, which in blind'-amma, &c., maintains itself in its original form, appears, in this view, as i in the feminine singular genitive blindaizos—which is to be divided blindaizos from blinda-yizos; and this yizos is analogous with hvizos, thizos, from hvazos, thazos, = Sanscrit kasyas, tasyas (§. 172.). We must not require blindb-izbs — because BLINDO is the feminine adjective base—for there is a reason for the thinning of the 6, in the difficulty of placing the syllables together, and a is the short of o For the rest, let it be considered, that in the Sclavonic the graver feminine a before its union with the pronoun is weakened to the lighter masculine o (p. 354. Rem. 3.); and that a diphthong of in the Gothic is never admissible; on which account salbo, "I anoint," in the conjunctive suppresses the i, which belongs to this mood (salbôs, salbô, for salbôis, salbôi). feminine dative one should expect blindaizai for blindai, which is simple, and answers to gibai, while the remaining German dialects are, in this case, compounded in the very

same manner: in Old High German the genitive is plintera, and the dative plinteru.* In the genitive plural masculine and neuter the ai in blindaize might be substantiated through the Sanscrit & & of the pronominal genitive, as तेषाम् têshâm, "horum"; and therefore the division blindai-ze or blind'-(y)aizé should be made: as, however, the monosyllabic pronominal bases, in which one would rather expect a firm adherence to the old diphthong (comp. § 137.), do not retain it, and thi-ze, "horum," hvi-ze, "quorum," as weakened forms of tha-zê, hva-zê, are used; and in the feminine thi-zô, hvi-zô, for thô-zô, hvô-zô, = Sanscrit tâ-sâm, kâ-sâm; I therefore prefer to substantiate in a different way the ai in blindaize m. n., and blindaize f., than by the Sanscrit e of tê-shâm m. n. (f. tâ-shâm), which, moreover, would not be applicable to the feminine form blindaize; and I do it, in fact, by the pronominal base YA, so that blinda-izé blindaize, is the division to be made according to the analogy of blinda-izôs.

"Remark 5.—The nominative masculine and feminine has kept itself free, in Gothic, from union with the old relative base, and has remained resting upon the original, as received from the Sanscrit, Greek, and Latin. The masculine blinds, also, through the very characteristic and animated s (see §. 134.), has cause to feel itself personified and defined determinately enough. Even if blinds could be looked upon as an abbreviation of blindeis (comp. altheis, "old," from the base ALTHYA, according to Massmann), or of blindais, to which the Old High German plinter would give authority, I should still believe that neither the one nor the other has existed in Gothic, as the u bases, even,

^{*} The Gothic ai would lead us to expect ℓ , and this, too, is given by Grimm. As, however, with Kero, the doubling of the vowel, and, with Notker, the circumflex is wanting, I adopt in preference a shortening of the e, or leave the quantity undecided.

like manues above, which, in the oblique cases, shew so clearly the pronominal base YA, have not received it in the nominative singular of the personal genders. In Old High German, however, the pronoun spoken of has had time, in the space of almost four centuries which intervene between its oldest memorials and Ulfilas, to raise itself up from the oblique cases to the nominative; which was the more desirable, as the Old High German substantive declension in the nominative masculine, in disadvantageous comparison with the Gothic, omits the mark of case. Plinter (the length of the e is here rendered certain) is contracted from plinta-ir (for plinta-yir); for the Old High German & corresponds, according to §. 78., to the Gothic as. In the feminine, therefore, the form plintyu, which occurs in the chief number of strict Old High German authorities, and those which, as Grimm remarks, are the oldest of all, has good substantiation, and corresponds very fitly to the masculine plinter; and in the nominative accusative plural and neuter the form plint-yu, with regard to the retaining the y of the pronoun, is more genuine than the Gothic blind-a for blind-ya. The form plintyu, moreover, answers to feminine pronominal forms like dyu, "the," syu, "they," dësyu (dë-syu), "these," and to the instrumental masculine and neuter dyu (in the interrogative huis), where all authorities concur in retaining the i or y; while in the adjective, Otfrid, and, as Grimm remarks, here and there Isidore and Tatian, have u for yu. For explanation,

^{*} As in the Old High German i and j(y) are not distinguished in writing, it remains uncertain in many, if not in all cases, in what places of the memorials which have come down to us the sound j, and in what that of i is intended; as even where the Gothic has a j, it may become i in the Old High German. If, however, in the analogous adjective forms like plintju one reads j, which is supported by the Gothic (p. 362.), we must, in my opinion, leave it in the above forms also. Grimm writes diu, siu, but $d\ddot{e}sju$; and expresses, p. 791, his opinion regarding the i.

however, of the pronominal forms which have been mentioned, it is important to consider, that in the Sanscrit the pronominal base ta, or the sa which supplies its place in the nominative masculine and feminine, unites itself with the relative base $\forall ya$, by which the first pronoun loses its vowel. Compare, then—

| SANSCRIT. | OLD HIGH GERM. | OLD SCLAVONIC. | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|----------------|--|
| स्या syd (= syd), " hac ," | syu, dyu, | ta-ya. | |
| त्याम् tyâm, "hanc," | dya, | tû-yû. | |
| से tyê, " hi," | dyê, | ti-i. | |
| त्यास् tyås, " hæ," "has," | dyô, | ty-ya. | |
| त्यानि lyâni, "hæc," | dyu, | ta-ya. | |

Here, then, in a manner as remarkable as convincing, the relation is proved in which the Old High German forms mentioned stand to the Gothic sô, thô, thai, thôs, thô: one must first transpose these into syô, thyô, &c., before they can pass as original forms for the Old High German. Our mother tongue, however, in the case before us, obtains more explanation through the Sclavonic, where the demonstrative base TO may indeed be simply inflected through all the cases: in several, however, which we have partly given above, it occurs also in union with YO. It is most probable, that in the Old High German the conjunction of the base of the article with the old relative pronoun has extended itself over all the cases of the three genders; for that it does not belong to the feminine alone is seen from the masculine and neuter instrumental form dyu (d'-yu), and from the dative plural, where together with dem occurs also dyém (diém), and, according to Notker, always According to this, I deduce the forms dër, dës, dëmu, &c., from dyer, dyes (for dyis), dyemu (from dyamu); so that, after suppression of the vowel following the y, that letter has vocalized itself first to i and thence to ë. cording to this, therefore, des, and the Gothic genitive

thi-s, would be, in their origin, just as different as in the accusative feminine dya and thô. In the neuter, on the other hand, daz-for dyaz, as Gothic blind-ata for blindyata—the vowel of the base DYA is left, and the semivowel, which above had become \ddot{e} (from i) has disappeared. Farther support of my views regarding the difference of bases in the Gothic tha-na and the Old High German dë-n (I give the accusative intentionally) is furnished by the demonstrative deser, which I explain as compounded, and as, in fact, a combination of the Sanscrit a tya, mentioned at p. 369., for taya, and wasya for sa-ya, the latter of which has a full declension in the Old Sclavonic, also, as a simple word. Dësër stands, therefore, for dya-säir $(\ddot{e} = ai)$; and our Modern German dieser rests, in fact, upon a more perfect dialect form than that which is preserved to us in the above dësêr, namely, upon dya-sêr or dia-sêr; referred to which the Isidorean dhëa-sa, mentioned by Grimm (I. 795.), at least in respect of the first syllable, no longer appears strange, for dhëa from dhia for dhya,* answers admirably to the Sanscrit m tya, and the final syllable sa answers to the Sanscrit-Gothic nominative form sa (Greek o), which has not the sign of case.

"Remark 6.—The adjective bases which, according to Haus, end in ya, as MIDYA = Sanscrit madhya, are less favourable to the retention of the y of the definite pronoun; for to the feminine or plural neuter plint-yu for plinta-yu a midy'-yu would be analogous, which, on account of the difficulty of pronouncing it, does not occur, but may have originally existed in the form midya-yu, or midya-ya; for the masculine nominative midyêr is from midya-ir for midya-yar, as, in Gothic, the feminine genitive form midyaizôs from midya-yizôs. If, however, according to this, even hvar-yaizôs (hvar-yayizôs) be used, and analogous

^{*} D, th, and dh are interchanged according to different authorities.

forms in several other cases, so that the base YA is therein doubled, we must recollect, that in the Lithuanian also the base JA, besides its composition with adjectives, combines itself, also, with itself, for stronger personification; and, indeed, in such a manner, that it is then doubly declined, as yis-sai (for yis-yai*), 'he'; yo-yo, 'of him,' &c."

289. The participle present has, in Gothic, preserved only the nominative singular masculine of the definite declension, e.g. gibands, "giving," which may be deduced \sim as well from a theme GIBAND, according to the analogy of fiyand-s (see p. 164.), as from GIBANDA, according to the analogy of vulf-s (§. 135.). The Pali (see p. 300.) and Old High German support the assumption of a theme GIBANDA, as an extension of the original GIBAND; whence, then, by a new addition, the indefinite theme GIBANDAN has arisen, as, above, BLINDAN from BLINDA; and it is very probable that all unorganic n bases have been preceded by an older with a vowel termination: for as all bases which terminate in a consonant (nd, r, and n, §. 125.) are in their declension, with the exception of the nominative nd-s, alike obtuse; so it would not be necessary for GIBAND, in order to belong, in the indefinite adjective, to a weak theme, or one with a blunted declension, to extend itself to gibandan (compare p. 302.), unless for the sake of the nominative gibanda (see §. 140.).

290. In the Pali, no feminine theme charanti has been formed from the unorganic theme charanta, for the mascu-

^{*} Ruhig (by Mielke, p. 68) wrongly gives ai as the emphatic adjunct, as the doubling of the s in tassai, szissai, yissai is clearly to be explained through the assimilative power of the y (see p. 353. Rem. †). The termination ai answers to the neuter tai, mentioned at §. 157., for tat, which latter is contained in the compound tat-tai (comp. kok-tai, tok-tai). After two consonants, however, the y is entirely dropped; hence kurs-ai, not kurs-sai.

line and neuter form charanta has arisen from the necessity of passing from a class of declensions terminating in a consonant into one more convenient, terminating with a vowel in the theme. The Sanscrit, however, forms from bases terminating in a consonant the feminine theme by the addition of a vowel (i, see §. 119.); e.g. from charant m., comes charanti, and there was therefore no reason in the Pali to give also to the more recent form charanta a feminine theme charanta. Here, again, the Gothic stands in remarkable accordance with the Pali, for it has produced no feminine base $GIBAND\overline{O}$ from the presupposed GIBANDA; and therefore, also, the indefinite GIBANDAN has no feminine, GIBANDON, nom. gibando, answering to it (as $BLIND\bar{O}N$ to BLINDAN); but the feminine form gibandei (ei=i, §. 70.), which has arisen from the old theme GIBAND, in analogy with the Sanscrit charanti, has become GIBANDEIN, by the later addition of an n. Hence, according to §. 142., in the nominative gibandei must have arisen. It is not, however, right to regard this nominative as a production of the more recent theme, but as a transmission from the ancient period of the language, for it answers to the feminine Sanscrit nominative charanti (§. 137.), and to Lithuanian forms like sukanti, "the turning," for which a theme sukantin is nowise admissible. In Latin, bases in i or i, originally feminine, must have arisen from adjective bases terminating with a consonant; thus FERENTI from FERENT (compare §. 119. genitri-c-s): and this feminine i, as is the case in Lithuanian, as well with the participles (see p. 174. Rem.) as with the adjective bases in u (p. 363.), has in some cases no longer remembered its original destination, and been imparted to the other genders: hence the ablatives in i (for i-a), genitive plural in i-um, neuter plural in ia (ferenti(d), ferenti-um, ferenti-a); and hence is explained, what must otherwise appear very surprising, that the

participles, when standing as substantives, freely take this i, which is introduced into them from the feminine adjective (infante, sapiente).

"Remark.—In the yu of këpantyu, the Old High German feminine of këpantër, I recognise the regular defining element, as above in plintyu, answering to the masculine plinter. On account of the participial feminines in yu, therefore, no masculines in yer are required, according to the analogy of midyer, midyu, midyaz, partly as këpentër and këpantaz, incline, in none of their cases, to the declension of midyer; midyaz, and also as the derivative indefinite base in an has sprung from KEPANTA, and not from KEPANTYA: therefore m. këpanto (=Gothic gibanda), f. n. këpanta (= Gothic gibands). This only is peculiar to the Old High German participle present, in relation to other adjectives, that in its uninflected adverbial state it retains the defining pronominal base YA in its contraction to i; therefore këpanti, "giving," not kepant, like plint. It is, however, to be observed, that there is far more frequent occasion to use this form divested of case terminations in the participle present, than in all other adjectives, as the definite form in nds in Gothic, in the nominative singular masculine, corresponds to it; and as it may be assumed, that here the i supplies the place of the case termination, which has been laid aside; so that it is very often arbitrary whether the definite form of the participle, or the uninflected form in i, be given. Grimm's hymns (II. 2.), sustollens is rendered by the uninflected ufpurrenti, and baptizans by taufanter, although the reverse might just as well occur, or both participles might stand in the same form, whether that of the nominative As regards the Old Saxon forms menor adverbial. tioned by Grimm, namely, slapandyes or slapandeas, "dormientis," gnornondyė, "mærentes," buandyum, "habitantibus," they should, in my opinion, be rather adduced in

proof of the proposition, that the participle present has, in the dialect mentioned, preserved the defining element more truly than other adjectives; and that those forms have maintained themselves in the degree of the Gothic forms like mawyana, mentioned at p. 362., than that a theme in ya belonged to the Old High German participle present before its conjunction with the pronominal syllable."

DEGREES OF COMPARISON.

291. The comparative is expressed in Sanscrit by the suffix tara, feminine tara, and the superlative by tama, feminine tama, which belong to the theme of the positive, which is common to the masculine and neuter; e.g. punya-tara, punya-tama, from punya, "clean"; śuchi-tara, śuchi-tama, from śuchi, "clean"; balavat-tara, balavat-tama, from balavat, "strong." In the Zend, through a perversion of the language, who tara and were tema unite themselves with (in place of the theme) the nominative singular masculine; e.g. who pure huskotara (Vend. S. p. 383.) from huska, nominative masculine from śpēnta, "holy"; were were spēntotēma from śpēnta, "holy"; were were hrazańżema (Vend. S. p. 43.) from věrěthrazant, nom. věrěthrazańż, "victorious" (verbatim, "Vritra-slaying")." According to my opinion π tara owes

^{*} The participle present sant, the nominative of which I recognise in signification vertebra-sans, rests on the analogy of the frequently-occurring polycus) upa-zôit, "he struck"; since, in fact, the base san (Sanscrit En han) suppresses its final vowel, and has treated the a which remains according to the analogy of the conjugation vowel of the first and sixth class (see p. 104). The Sanscrit base En han, "slaying," which appears in green Vritra-han, "Vritra slaying," and similar compounds," has, in Zend, taken the form jan, the nominative of which is cause jão (Vend. S.

its origin to the root η tri (tar, §. 1.), "to step beyond," "to place beyond" (e.g. "over a river"); hence, also, the substantive tara, "a float." In the Latin, as Lisch has acutely remarked, with this base are connected the preposition trans, and also terminus, as that which is overstepped, and probably also tra, in in-tra-re, penetra-re. The superlative suffix I explain, with Grimm (III. 583.), from that of the comparative, although I assume no theoretic necessity that the superlative must have passed through the degree of the comparative. But tama, as a primitive, presents no satisfactory etymology. I formerly thought of the base तन् tan, "to extend," whence, also, τατος could be explained; but then तम tama would be no regular formation, and I now prefer recognising in it an abbreviation of tarama, partly because the superlative suffix we ishtha may be satisfactorily considered as a derivation from its comparative iyas. through the suffix tha, which, in the Greek, is contained in the form of 70, as well in 10-705 as in 70705, for 707705 or ταροτος. In this manner, therefore, is formed τατο-ς and समस tama-s: they both contain the same primitive, abbreviated in a similar manner, but have taken a different derivation suffix, as in πέμπ-τος contrasted with υψη panchama, "the fifth": the vowel, however, is more truly retained in the derivative τατος than in its base τερος. In Latin, तमस् tama-s has become timu-s (optimus, intimus, extimus, ultimus); and, by the exchange of the t with s, which is more usual in Greek than in Latin, simus; hence,

p. 43), and is analogous to the Sanscrit panthas, from panthan, mentioned at p. 308. More usually, however, do in Zend nominatives stands in the place of the Sanscrit an of the suffix vant and vans; so that, in Zend, the sign of the nominative has taken the place of the Indian n, the said sign being o for s, according to §. 56b. In Europe van, from Tit vans, the Zend o may also be looked upon as belonging to the base (comp. Burnouf's Yaçna, Notes, p. exxviii. &c.).

maximus (mac-simus) for mag-simus. However, the simus is generally preceded by the syllable is, which we will hereafter explain.

292. As in comparatives a relation between two, and in superlatives a relation between many, lies at the bottom, it is natural that their suffixes should also be transferred to other words, whose chief notion is individualized through that of duality or plurality: thus they appear in pronouns, and that katara-s is "which of two persons?" and many katama-s, "which of more than two persons?" eanth ékataras is "one of two persons," and ékatama-s "one of more than two." It is hardly necessary to call attention to similar forms in Greek, as πότερος (for κότερος), έκάτερος. In έκαστος the superlative suffix (στος for ιστος) presents a different modification from that in ékatama-s, and makes "the one person," "the former person," instead of making "the one of many persons." In Latin and German, indeed, the suffix tara is not in use in genuine comparatives, but has maintained itself in pronouns in Latin in the form of TERU (ter, teru-m), and in Gothic in that of THARA; hence uter, neuter, alter; Gothic, hva-thar, " which of two persons?" Old High German, huëdar, which has remained to us in the adverb weder, as an abbreviation of the Middle High Ger-

^{*} The Gothic resembles the Latin in withdrawing the sign of the nominative from its masculine bases in ra, as the latter does from its corresponding bases in ru. Hence, above, hvathar for hvathar(a)s, as alter for alterus; so also vair, "man," = Latin vir for viru-s. This suppression has, however, not extended itself universally in both languages. In the Gothic, as it appears, the s is protected by the two preceding consonants; hence akrs, "a field" (comp. Grimm, p. 599); still the adjective nominatives gaurs, "mournful" (the Gaura, comp. Sanscrit The ghôra, "terrible"), and svêrs, "honoured," occur, where this cause is wanting, where, however, the preceding long vowel and the diphthong au may have operated. In vair, indeed, a diphthong precedes; but the a is here first introduced through the euphonic law 82. If, in Latin, in adjective bases in ri, only the masculine has predominantly given up the s, with the preceding

man, combined with a particle of negation neweder. Anthar, also, our anderer, belongs here, and answers to the Sanscrit समारत antara-s, whose initial syllable is the same which in जन anya, "alius," has united itself with the relative base प ya. From this सन्य anya comes anyatara, "alter," If, however, wat antara means, in general, "the other," the comparative suffix is here intended to denote the person following after, passing over this thing; so is, also, the Latin ceterus to be considered, from ce as demonstrative base (compare ci-s, ci-tra); and so, also, in Sanscrit, itara, "the other," comes from the demonstrative base i, as, in Latin, the adverb iterum from the same base.* In our German, also, wieder is the comparative suffix, and the whole rests, perhaps, on a pre-existing Old High German word huia-dur or hnyadar, with a change of the interrogative meaning into the demonstrative, as in weder, ent-weder. The wie in wieder, therefore, should be regarded as, p. 370, die in dieser; and herein we may refer to the Isidoric dhëa-sa.

293. In prepositions, also, it cannot be surprising if one finds them invested with a comparative or superlative suffix, or if some of them occur merely with a comparative termination. For at the bottom of all genuine prepositions,

preceding i, while the feminine acris might have permitted its is to have been removed, just as well as the masculine, I can find the reason of this firm adherence of the feminine to the termination is only in the circumstance that the vowel i particularly agrees with that gender, as it is in Sanscrit (although long), according to §. 119., the true vowel of formation for the feminine base. In Gothic, the suppression of the nominative sign s is universal in bases in sa and si, in order that, as the final vowel of the base is suppressed, two s should not meet at the end of the word; hence the nominatives drus, "a fall," from DRUSA; garuns, "a market," from GARUNSI, f.

^{*} I have traced back the comparative nature of this adverb, which Voss derives from *iter*, "the journey," for the first time in my Review of Forster's Sanscrit Grammar in the Heidelb. Jahrb. 1818. i. p. 479.

at least in their original sense, there exists a relation between two opposite directions—thus, "over," "from," "before," "to," have the relations "under," "in," "towards," "from," as their counter-poles and points of comparison, as the right is opposed to the left; and in Latin, also, dexter (zfun dakshina), sinister, are always expressed with comparative suffixes. As, however, the comparative nature of these formations is no longer recognised in the present condition of the Latin, the suffix ter admits of the further addition of the customary ior (dexterior, sinisterior, like exterior, interior); while the superlative timus has affixed itself to the core of the word (dexlimus or -tumus, sinistimus). The prepositions which, in Latin, contain a comparative suffix, are inter, præter, propter, the adverbially-used subter, and probably, also, obiter (compare audacter, pariter).* inter answers the Sanscrit wat antar, "among," "between"; for which, however, a primitive an is wanting, as in Sanscrit the relation "in" is always expressed by the locative. Notwithstanding this, antar, in regard to its suffix, is an analogous word to unit pratar, "in the morning," from the preposition pra, "before," with a lengthened a, as in the

^{*} I was of opinion, when I first treated this subject (Heidelb. Jahrb. 1818, p. 480), that ob-i-ter must be so divided, and i looked upon as the vowel of conjunction. As, however, the preposition ob is connected with the Sanscrit who abhi, "to," "from," the division obi-ter might also be made, and the original form of the preposition recognised in obi: observe the Sanscrit derivation white abhi-tas, "by," from abhi with the suffix tas. The common idea, however, that obiter is compounded of ob and iter cannot entirely be disproved, partly as then obiter would be a similar compound to obvium.

[†] Comp. nî, pari, pratî, for ni, &c. in certain compounds. Formations which do not quite follow the usual track, and are rendered intelligible by numerous analogies, are nevertheless frequently misunderstood by the Indian Grammarians. Thus Wilson, according to native authorities, derives water from anta, "end," with râ, "to arrive at," and the analogous

Greek $\pi \rho \omega i$ from $\pi \rho o$. For the relation "under," the Sanscrit has the preposition wan adhas, which I have elsewhere explained as coming from the demonstrative base च a; from which, also, चार a-dhara and चाम a-dhama, " the under one," or "the most under," to which inferus and infimus are akin, as fumus to भूमस् dhuma-s, "smoke," and, with a nasal prefixed, as in ἀμφί in relation to with abhi, and in ἄμφω, "ambo," answering to τολ ubhau, Old Scla-The suffixes with the dhama are, in my vonic *oba.* opinion, only slightly-corrupted forms of the tara and tama mentioned in §. 291.; as also in must prathama, "the first (man)," from pra, "before," the T sound of the suffix is somewhat differently transposed. The suffix dhas of adhas, "beneath," however, has exactly the same relation to tas, in चात्रस् atas, "from here," as dhara, dhama, has to tara, tama; and therefore adhas, as a modification of atas, is, in respect to its suffix, a kindred form of subtus, intus. usual intention of the suffix we tas, like that of the Latin In this, also, the tus, is to express distance from a place. Greek $\theta \epsilon \nu$ (from $\theta \epsilon_{S}$, comp. §. 217.) corresponds with it, which, in regard to its T sound, rests on the form we dhas in wan adhas (§. 16.), as the latter also serves as the pattern of the Old Sclavonic suffix dû, which only occurs in pronouns, and expresses the same relation as we tas, θev , tus; e.g. ovo-ûdû, "hence," ono-ûdû, "thence." The form dû, however, corresponds to the euphonic alteration, which a final as in the Sanscrit must suffer before sonant letters (§. 25.), viz. that into δ (see §. 255. f.), which in Zend has become fixed (§. 56^b.).

analogous word prâtar from pra, with at, "to go." A relation, nevertheless, between anta, "end," and antar, "under," cannot perhaps be denied, as they agree in the idea of room. They are, however, if they are related, sister forms, and the latter is not an offshoot of the former.

^{*} The demonstrative base OVO answers remarkably to the Zend under a with o for a, according to §. 255. (a.).

"Remark.—Dobrowsky p. 451 gives ûdû as the full form of the suffix, just as he also lays down a suffix ûdye, which forms adverbs of place, as kudye, "where?" onudye, "there." As, however, the definitive pronoun, which has been treated of at p. 353, &c., exists in these two adverbs, ûdû, ûdye, and forms, with she, ûdûshe, ûdyeshe, for yûdû, &c.; and as this pronoun is, in general, so frequently compounded with other adverbs, there is every reason to assume that it is also contained in ovo-ûdû, ono-ûdû, on'-ûdye, t'-ûdye, and others. But how is the \hat{u} itself in û-dû, yû-dye, to be explained? I cannot speak with confidence on this point; but as, according to §. 255. (g.), in the last element of the diphthong 4 a vocalized nasal is sometimes recognised, yûdû, yûdye might be regarded as corruptions of yondu yondye, and, in respect to their nasal, be compared with the Latin inde, unde, from I, U. Yûdye, yûdyû might also have proceeded from the feminine accusative yû, which would again conduct us to a nasal (§. 266.): this accusative would then stand as theme to the derivative adverb, as our preposition hinter, Old High German hinter, has arisen from hin, a petrified accusative, on which the Gothic hina-dag, "this day," "to-day," throws light. Before the suffix dye, however, elder form de, occur also the pronouns in a simple form, as gdye, "where?" (more anciently kde, with the final vowel of the base KO suppressed); zdye (older sde), "here"; idyeshe, "where" (relative). As $e(\epsilon)$, according to §. 255. (b.), frequently stands as the corruption of an older i, I recognise in the suffix de the Sanscrit fu dhi, from with adhi, "over," "upon," "from" (from the demonstrative base a), which, in Greek, is far more widely diffused in the form of θ_i ($\pi \delta \theta_i$, $\tilde{\alpha} \lambda \lambda_0 \theta_i$)."

294. In German, even more than in Latin, the prepositions show themselves inclined to combine with the comparative suffix. To the Sanscrit wat antar, Latin inter, mentioned above (at p. 378), corresponds our unter, Gothic

undar, with u for the old a, according to §. 66.* If, however, the, in my opinion, incontrovertible original identity of the latter with the two former is recognised, one must not, with Grimm (III. 260.), derive undar from the preposition und, "as far as," &c., by a suffix ar, and so again divide the dar; for undur, as transmitted from an ancient period of the language, was already formed, before the existence of a German dialect, and the abovementioned preposition has only to dispose itself according to the relations of sound mentioned in §§. 66. 91. The matter is different with the Old High German af-tar, "after," for the primitive language, or languages, transmit to us only wa apa, ἀπό, "from;" whence, in the spirit of खनार antar, inter, subter, &c., the old comparative suffix has first formed itself upon German ground. In Gothic, aftra means "again," which I look upon as an abbreviation of aftara, as in Latin extra, intra, contra, and others, as feminine adjectives, from extera, &c. In regard to the termination however, aftra, and similar forms in tra, thra, appear to me as datives, i.e. original instrumentals (§. 160.), as also, in the Sanscrit, this case occurs as an adverb, e.g. in अनोरा antarêna, "between." haps, also, the Sanscrit pronominal adverbs in tra, although they have a locative meaning, like यत्र yatra, "where," are to be regarded as instrumental forms, according to the principle of the Zend language (§. 158.), and of the gerund in $\forall ya$ (Gramm. Crit. §. 638. Rem.), so that their tra would be to be derived from no tara: compare forms like मनुष्या manushya-tra, "inter homines" (Gramm. Crit.

^{*} Regarding dar and tar for thar, see §.91.

[†] Grimm however, also, at II. 121. &c., divides broth-ar, vat-ar ("brother," "father"), although the many analogous kindred words in the German and the cognate languages clearly prove the T sound to belong to the derivation suffix (see Gramm. Crit. §. 178. Rem.).

§. 252. suff. trá). As aftra is related to aftar, so is the Gothic vithra, "against," to the Old High German widar, our wider, the primitive of which is supplied by the Sanscrit through its inseparable preposition for vi, which expresses separation, distraction, e.g. in visrip, "to go from one another," "to disperse." Exactly similar is the Sanscrit for ni, to which I have first proved the meaning "below" to belong, and whence the adjective for nicha, "low" (Gramm. Crit. §. 111.), the base of our nieder, Old High German ni-dar. From hin-dar, Old High German hin-tar, our hin-ter is now said (p. 394., compare Grimm. III. 177. c.). In the Old High German sun-dar, Gothic sun-dro, "seorsim," afterwards a preposition, our sondern, dar is, in like manner, clearly the comparative suffix, and the base appears to me, in spite of the difference of signi-

^{*} It is usual to attribute to it the meaning "in," "into," which cannot in any way be supported.

[†] Grimm assents to my opinion, which has been already expressed in another place, regarding the relationship of fa ni and nidar (III. 258, 259): he wishes, however, to divide thus nid-ar, and to suppose a Gothic verb nithan, nath, nethun, to which the Old High German ginada (our Gnade) may belong. Does, however, gi-nada really signify humilitas? It appears that only the meaning gratia can be proved to belong to it; and this is also given by Grimm, I. 617. and II. 235. gratia, humanitas, where he divides ki-nâ-da, which appears to me correct, and according to which no would be the base, and do the derivation suffix; as in the etymologically clear ki-wa-da, "afflatus," to which the Sanscrit gives wa, "to blow," as base, the Gothic gives vo (§. 69.) (vaia, vaivo). To gi-nada, indeed, the Sanscrit supplies no base na, but perhaps nam, "to bend oneself," the m of which, according to the laws of euphony, is suppressed before t, which does not take the Guna; as nata, "bent," nati, "bending," with the preposition sam, san-nati, which Wilson explains by "reverence," "obeisance," "reverential salutation." As the Gothic inseparable preposition ga, Old High German gi or ki, is, as Grimm first acutely remarked, identical with the Sanscrit sam, gi-nā-da has much the same formation with san-na-ti: it would, however, still better agree with the feminine passive

Gothic samath, "together with," Old High German samant), and the n, therefore, is from a, according to §. 66. The Latin con-tra, however, is nearly just as much opposed in meaning to its primitive cum; and as cum (compare σύν) belongs, in like manner, to we sum, so sundar, sundró, and contra, would be, in a double respect, sister forms. Observe, also, the Gothic samath, Old High German samant, "together with": the latter answers surprisingly to the Sanscrit was samanta (from sam + anta, "an end"), the ablative of which, samantat, as also the adverb, samantatas, means "everywhere." Perhaps, too, in all other Old High German adverbs in nt (Grimm. III. 214.), the said was anta is contained, for the meaning "end," cannot be unexpected in adverbs of place and time, and, like "middle,"

passive participle san-na-tâ. Be that as it may, so much is certain, that there is no necessity for a hypothetic Gothic base nith or nath, either for the substantive gi-nada or for the preposition nidar, as they can be fully set at rest by the existence of a Sanscrit primitive for ni, "below," and the comparative suffix dar, which frequently occurs in prepositions. And as the circumstance that genuine original prepositions never come from verbs, but are connected with pronouns, I must, with regard to its etymology, keep back every verb from our nidar. Grimm wishes also to divide the Gothic preposition vi-thrá, Old High German wi-dar, into vith-ra, wid-ar, and to find their base in the Anglo-Saxon preposition widh, English with, Old Sclavonic wid, Old Norman vidh, Swedish vid, Danish ved, which mean "with," and, according to appearance, are wanting in the Gothic and High German. If, however, one considers the easy and frequent interchange of v, b, and m ($\exists i \in vari$, "water," = mare, $\beta \rho o \tau \delta \varsigma =$ मृतस् mritas, "mortuus"), one would rather recognise, in the above prepositions, dialectic variations of sound from the Gothic mith, which is of the same import with them (=the Zend power mat), and which, in most of the dialects mentioned, maintains itself equally with the other forms; as it often occurs, in the history of languages, that the true form of a word is equally preserved with a corruption of it.

(compare "in the midst") and "beginning," it attaches itself first to the prepositional ideas: therefore hinont, "this side," enont, "that side," would be the same as "this end," "that end." With regard to the comparative forms there is, further, the Old High German for-dar, fur-dir ("porro," "amplius"), our für-der to be mentioned, whence der vordere, vorderste.

"Remark 1.—As we have endeavoured above to explain the Gothic af-tra and vithra as datives, I believe I can with still more confidence present the forms in thro or taro as remarkable remains of ablatives. Their meaning corresponds most exactly to that of the Sanscrit ablative, which expresses the withdrawing from a place, and to that of the Greek adverbs in $\theta \epsilon \nu$; thus hva-thrô, "whence?" tha-thrô, "thence," yain-thro, "hence," alya-thro, "from another quarter," inna-thro, "from within," uta-thro, "from without," af-taro, "from behind," dala-thro, "from under," and some others, but only pronouns, and, what is nearly the same, prepositions. I might, therefore, derive dalathro, not from dal, "a valley," but suppose a connection with the Sanscrit wat adhara, "the under person," with aphæresis of the a and the very common exchange of the r with l(§. 20.). Perhaps, however, on the contrary, thal is so named from the notion of the part below. As to the ablative forms in tarô, thrô, the ô corresponds to the Sanscrit &t (§. 179,), with &, according to rule, for wi & (§. 69.), and apocope of the t; so that θ has the same relation to the to be pre-supposed of that in Greek ούτω has to ούτως, from οὖτωτ (§. 183. Rem.). Many other Gothic adverbs in ô, as sinteinô, "always," sniumundô, "hastily," sprantô, "suddenly," thridyo, "thirdly," &c., might then, although an ablative meaning does not appear more plainly in them than in the Latin perpetuo, cito, subito, tertio, and others, be rather considered as ablatives than as neuter accusatives of indefinite (Grimm's weak) forms; so that thridys would

answer to the Sanscrit ablative tritiyat, while the common Gothic declension extends the ordinal bases in a by an unorganic n; thus THRIDYAN, nom. thridya. be further observed, that all unorganic adjective bases in an are, in general, only used where the adjective is rendered definite through a pronoun preceding it; that therefore the forms in δ , which pass for adverbial, are, for the very reason that no pronoun precedes them, better assigned to the definite (strong) declension than to the indefinite; partly as most of them are only remains of an old adjective, which is no longer preserved in other cases, and, according to their formation, they belong to a period where the indefinite adjective declension had not yet received the unorganic addition of an n. . As to the translation of τοὖναντίον, 2 Cor. ii. 7., by thata and an eith θ, here of course and aneitho is the neuter accusative; but the inducement for using the indefinite form is supplied by the article, and τοὐναντίον could not be otherwise literally The case may be similar with 2 Cor. iv. 17., rendered. where Castiglione takes thata and avairtho for the nominative, but Grimm for the adverbial accusative: as it would else be an unsuitable imitation of the Greek text, where τὸ does not belong to αὐτίκα, but to ἐλαφρὸν. In my opinion, however, it can in no case be inferred from these passages that the adverbs in ô, without an article preceding them, belong to the same category. Moreover, also, and an eith ô and andavairtho do not occur by themselves alone adverbially. As, then, thro has shewn itself to us to be an abbreviation of thrôt, it is a question whether the suppression of the t by a universal law of sound was requisite, as in Greek, and in the Prakrit, all T sounds are rejected from the end of words, or changed into Σ . It is certain that the T sounds (t, th, d), which, in the actual condition of the Gothic, are finals, as far as we can follow their etymology, had originally a vowel after them; so that they are final sounds of a second generation, comparable in that respect to the Sclavonic final consonants (§. 255. L). This holds good, for example, with regard to th, d in the 3d person singular and plural, and the 2d person plural = Sanscrit fit ti, with anti, with or nta; and I explain the th or d, which, in pronominal bases, expresses direction to a place, as coming from the Sanscrit suffix w dha (w ha); which, in like manner, in pronouns expresses the locative relation. The passing over from the locative relation to the accusative, expressing the direction whither, cannot be surprising, as, even in Sanscrit, the common locative adverbs in tra, and the ablatives in tas, occur also with accusative meaning, i.e. expressing the direction to a place (see tatra in my Glossary). The Sanscrit suffix w dha appears, in common language, abbreviated to ha, and is found, indeed, only in i-ha, "here," from the pronominal base i and as sa-ha—in the Vêda dialect and Zend sa-dha which I derive from the pronominal base sa. It ought, according to its origin, and consistently with the usual destination of the suffix dha, to mean "here or there": it has, however, become a preposition, which expresses "with." The adverb se iha, "here," is, in Zend, Low idha, and frequently occurs in combination with wy na, "not"; so that worn, naedha to means "nor," answering to noit. "neither" (literally "not it," from na + it, §. 33.). From איא ava and אוסאא alta, "this" (mas.), comes אפאאא

 $[\]dagger a + i$ makes ℓ , according to \S . 2.; and from $n\ell dha$ is formed, by \S . 28., $na\ell dha$.

avadha and אמשעסא aéta-dha (Vend. S. p. 164). Zend-Vêda suffix dha corresponds most exactly the Greek θα, in ἔνθα and ἐνταῦ-θα, "here." Perhaps ἔνθα and ωσε i-dha, sw iha, are, with regard to their base, identical; ένθα, therefore, is for ἴνθα from ἴθα (comp. in, inde), as nasals are easily prefixed to another consonant, and thus ἀμφί answers to जान abhi, वॅमक्ळ to उभी ubhau, Old Sclavonic oba; but $\alpha \dot{\vartheta} \theta \alpha$, in the triple compound $\dot{\epsilon} v - \tau' - \alpha \hat{\upsilon} \theta \alpha$, is completely the Zend אמששא avadha, whose theme ava has been contracted in the Greek to αὐ (compare αὖ-θι and αὐ-τός, the latter being combined with the article), but in the Old Sclavonic it is more correctly preserved in the form of OVO.* To the word इहम ihatya, "of this place," which is derived from इह iha through the suffix η tya, corresponds the Greek ἐνθάσιος. with σ from τ ; compare, with regard to the suffix, the Latin propitius from prope, and, in the Gothic, frama-thya, "a foreigner," through which the preposition fram shews itself to be an abbreviation of frama. As in the Sanscrit the suffix ratya belongs only to local adverbs and prepositions, so might also the Gothic ni-thyis, "cousin" (for ni-thyas, §. 135.), as propinquus, or one who stands somewhat lower in relationship than a brother, &c., t be derived from the

^{*} Before my acquaintance with the Zend, and deeper examination of the Sclavonic, I believed I could make out the Greek base at to agree with the Sanscrit amu, "ille," by casting out the m (as κοῦρος with kumāra): now, however, we are and OVO have clearly nearer claims to take the Greek forms between them.

[†] Terms of relationship often express the relation, of which they are the representatives, very remotely, but ingeniously. Thus An nuptri, "a grandson," is, I have no doubt, compounded of na, "not," and pitri, "father"; and "not-father" is regarded as a possessive compound, "not having as father," in relation to the grandfather, who is not the father of In Latin it would be difficult to find the etymology of nepos (nepot-)-and the same may be said of our word neffe-without the aid of the word Vater, which is fully preserved from the Sanscrit. In the

ancient preposition ni, mentioned at p. 382, from which, in Sancrit, nitya actually comes, but differently related, and with a signification answering less to the meaning of the preposition, namely, sempiternus. In consideration of the aspirates in Greek being easily interchanged, and, in the Doric, OPNIX is said for OPNIO, one may also recognise in the syllable χ_0 , in forms like $\pi \alpha \nu \tau \alpha - \chi \delta - \theta \epsilon \nu$, παντα-χό-σε, πολλαχόσε, and others, a cognate form of the suffix θa , dha, or of the corruption $\forall ha$ (comp. §. 23.). the bottom of these forms lies, in my opinion, as the theme, the plural neuter, which need not be wondered at, as πάντα and πολλά, also, are used as first members of compounds (πολλά-σημος, παντά-μορφος). Πανταχο might, in the identity of its suffix with $\theta \alpha$, dha, or ha, mean "everywhere"; whence may then be said πανταχό-σε, "from everywhere," &c., as we combine our locative adverbs no and da with her and hin (woher, wohin); and in Greek, also, ἐκεῖθι, ἐκεῖσε, eκείθεν, which might literally mean in illic, versus illic, ab illic, as exeî is a local adverb. Forms in xo, however, are in a measure raised to themes capable of declension, though only for adverbs, and constitute, also, case-forms, as πανταχοῦ, πανταχοῖ (old locative and dative), πανταχῆ. The addition of new suffixes or terminations to those already existing, and which are obscured, appears to me assuredly more natural than, as Buttmann supposes, the introduction of an unmeaning $\alpha \chi$ or even $\alpha \chi o$, in which case we should have to divide $\pi \alpha \nu \tau - \alpha \chi \acute{o} - \theta \epsilon \nu$, &c. But as the χo under discussion has arisen from $\theta \alpha$, dha, I think I recognise in the $\chi \iota$ of $\bar{\eta} \chi \iota$ a corruption of the suffix $\theta \iota$, from $\bar{\eta} dh i$; in which respect might be compared ayxı, as a sister form to

meaning of neffe the negation of the relationship of father points to the uncle. The Indian Grammarians, according to Wilson, see in naptri the negation, but not the father, but the root pat, "to fall," and a Unadi suffix tri.

wfu adhi, "to," "from," with a nasal introduced. third form in which the Vêda-Zend suffix dha appears in Greek, I notice $\sigma\epsilon$, with σ for θ , $\forall dh$, as $\mu\epsilon\sigma\sigma$ from π madhya, "the middle," the y of which has assimilated itself, in the form $\mu \epsilon \sigma \sigma \sigma \sigma \sigma$, to the σ . The suffix $\sigma \epsilon$, however, in that it is altered from its original intention to denote rest in a place, to the expression of motion to a place, answers to the Gothic th or d, whence we set out in this examination, in forms like hva-th, πό-σε, "whither?" also hvad—John xiii. 3. hvad gaggis, ποῦ ὑπάγεις—yain-d, ἐκεῖ-σε, alya-th, ἄλλο-σε. To the Zend idha, Greek ἔνθα, corresponds i-th; which, however, contrary to the original intention of the form, does not mean "thither," but is used as a conjunction—"but," "if," "then" (1 Cor. vii. 7.). To this class, also, belongs ath, which only occurs in combination with than -ath-than, "but," like ith-than; and it has the Vêda-Zend a-dha as prototype (§. 337.). Thad, in combination with the relative particle ei, which is probably connected with $\forall ya$, has preserved the original locative meaning together with the accusative, and thad-ei may be cited as "where" and "whi-The d in these forms, answering to the Greek θ , agrees with the rule for the transmutation of sounds (§. 87.); and it is to be observed that medials at the end of a word freely pass into aspirates—compare bauth, bu-dum (§. 91.); so that the Gothic T sound of the suffix under discussion. after it has, in one direction, diverged from the Greek, has, in another, again approached it.

"Remark 2.—As we have above recognised ablatives in the formations in thro, taro, so we find in this comparative suffix, also, a remnant of the Sanscrit locative; in which, however, as in the adverbs in th, d, the expression of repose in a place is changed into that of motion to a place—in hidre, "hither," Mark xi. 3. Luke xiv. 21.; hva-dre, "whither?" John vii. 35. On the other hand, yaindre actually occurs with a locative meaning; thare leik, yaindre

galisand sik arans, 'ὅπου τὸ σῶμα, ἐκεῖ συναχθήσονται οἱ αἐτοί.' Compare these forms with the Sanscrit, as, adharê, "in the lower," and the Lithuanian wilké (§. 197.). That, however, the Gothic e, which in the genitive plural masculine and neuter answers to the Sanscrit wi a (§. 69.), moreover corresponds to ve, is proved by preterites like nêmum, 'we took,' answering to the singular nam; as, in Sanscrit, ham nêmima, 'we bent ourselves,' answers to ham namama or ham namama, 'I bent myself.'"

295. The superlative suffix no tama occurs in the Gothic also in the form of TUMAN, nominative tuma, or, with d for t in prepositional derivations, either simply or in combination with the common superlative suffix ISTA; thus, af-tuma, "posterus," af-tumists, "postremus," hin-dumists, "extremus." If one considers the Indian suffix no tama, with apocope of the a, as in Latin, also, timus appears abbreviated to tim—in adverbs like viri-tim, caterva-tim, which I have already, in another place (Heidelb. Jahrb. 1818. p. 480), explained, together with forms like legi-timus, as superlatives—one may look for that tam in the Gothic corrupted to tana, after the analogy of the accusative masculine of pronouns, like tha-na = πη tam, τόν; hva-na = πη ku-m, "whom"; and thereupon regard the prepositional derivations in tana, dana, as superlative forms; thus, Gothic af-tana, "behind"; hindana, πέραν, Old High German ni-dana, "under" (compare our hie-niedan). As, however, in Old High German there exist, also, formations in ana without a preceding t sound (Grimm III. 203, &c.), it is a question whether innana, "within," izana, "abroad," forana shortened to forna, "from the beginning," ferrana, πόρρωθεν, rûmana, "from a distance," hôhana, ὑψόθεν, heimina, oikobev, have lost a t or a d preceding the a; or if they are formed after those in tana, dana, in the notion that the whole of the suffix consists merely of ana; or, finally, whether they rest on some other principle. The preposition obar, "over," Gothic ufar, which answers to the Sanscrit συπι upari, Greek ὑπέρ, has, in the same manner, an adverb obana, "above," corresponding to it.

296. In the Sanscrit the appellations of the quarters of the heavens come from prepositions in conjunction with the base was anch, "to go"; thus the east is denoted as that which is before, my pranch, from m pra, "before"; the west as that which is over against it, may pratyanch, from win prati, "opposite"; the south as that below, जनाच avanch, from जन ava, "below"; and its opposite pole, the north, as that above, is called उद्देश udanch, from उत्त धरं, "upon." Now it is remarkable that in German the names of the quarters of the world shew themselves to be obscured prepositional derivations, through their terminations, Old High German in tar and tana, or dar, dana, as they so frequently occur in prepositions. The custom of the language disposes of the forms in r and na in such a manner, that the former expresses the direction whither (Grimm. III. 205.), the latter the direction whence, which, however, was not, perhaps, the original intention of the terminations, both which seem adapted to express the same direction; the former comparatively, with a glance at that which is opposite, the latter superlatively, in relation to all the quarters of the globe, as, p. 376, want ekatara, "one of two persons," but vana ékatama, "one of many persons." The west may perhaps be most satisfactorily explained as being, in fact, etymologically pointed out as that which lies over against the east, as in Sanscrit. For this object we betake ourselves to the prepositional base wi, mentioned at p. 382, whence the comparative wi-dar. We do not, however, require to deduce wes-tar, "towards the west," wes-tana,

^{*} By writing we, Grimm marks the corruption of the s from i, in which I readily agree with him.

"from the west," from the derivative widar; but we may keep to its base wi, with the assumption of a euphonic s; as in the Sanscrit, also, some prepositions terminating in vowels in certain combinations, and before consonants which are disposed to have an s before them, assume this letter; e. g. pratishkaša for pratikasa; and as in Latin, abs, os (for obs), from ab, ob (§. 96.). But if it were preferred to deduce wëstar, wëstana, from the derivative midar, it would then be necessary to force the d of derivation into the base, and, according to §. 102., change it The east is more difficult of explanation than the west-Old High German ôs-tar, "towards the east," ôs-tana, "from the east,"—for several prepositions start up together that would gladly sustain this quarter of the heavens. It is not necessary that the preposition after which the east is named should elsewhere, also, be received as a German preposition; for in this appellation a preposition might have incorporated itself, which, except in this case, is foreign to the practice of the German language. It may therefore be allowable for us, first of all, to turn to a preposition which, in the Indian language, is prefixed to the south, and, in the German, may have changed its position to the east; the more so, as, with prepositions, the principal point is always where one stands, and the direction to which one is turned; and one may, with perfect justice, turn that which is at the bottom to the uppermost, or to the front. In Zend, ava, which in Sanscrit signifies "below," exists as a pronoun, and means "this"; and as this pronoun is also proper to the Sclavonic (OVO, nom. ov), and occurs in Greek as av (αὖ θι, αὐτός, see p. 387), it need not surprise us to find an obscured remnant of this base in German, and that the east is taken as the side opposed to the west. Here it may be necessary to observe, that in Sanscrit the preposition ava, in like manner, annexes a euphonic s; from

avas, therefore, by suppressing the last a but one, would arise (as in Greek av) aus (different from our aus, Old High German ûz, Gothic ût, in Sanscrit उत् ut, "upon"), and hence, according to §. 80., ds: the old northern form is austr, austan. The Latin auster might then—to which Grimm has already alluded (Wiener Jahrb. B. 28. p. 32) be placed with more confidence beside the Old High German as a sister form, and led back by the hand of our comparative suffix to the preposition, which in Sanscrit has given its name to the south, bold as it at the first glance might appear, if we declared auster and warm avanch (ava + anch), "southern," to be related. The derivations from haurio, or αύω, certainly deserve less notice. As, however, the juxta-position of austar with the Latin auster and the Indian preposition ava, avas, is most suitable, we refrain from giving other prepositional modes in which one might arrive at the appellation of the east in German. As the most natural point of departure, we cannot place it in so subordinate a position to the west as to mark it out as "not west" (a-ustar from a-wëstar). We betake ourselves to the south, in Old High German sun-dar, "towards the south," sundana, "from the south," the connection of which with the sundrô, sundar, mentioned at p. 383, is not to be mistaken. The south, therefore, appeared to our ancestors as the remote distance, and the reason for the appellation of this quarter of the heavens being clearly in allusion to space, is a new guarantee for the prepositional derivation of the names for east and west. The designation of the north, too. has subjected itself to a preposition, although it is still more veiled in obscurity than that of the three sister appellations. We cannot, however, omit calling attention to the Sanscrit preposition निस् nis, which signifies "from," and before sonant letters, to which d belongs (§. 25.) according to a universal law of euphony, appears

in the form of nir, which it is also usual to represent as the original form.

297. In the Old Sclavonic the Indo-Greek comparative suffix occurs in ctoryi, "the second man," in which the definitive pronoun is contained (p. 352): viory-i, then, is formed from vtoro-i (§. 255. d.), in which the cardinal number dva is melted down to v, corresponding in this respect to the Zend b in b-yare, "two years," but singular, with b as a hardened form from v. To the Sanscrit and katara, "which man of two?" (Gothic hoa-thar) and unt ya-tara, "which of both?" corresponds etymologically, the Old Sclavonic ko-tory-i (as definitive), older ko-tery-i and ye-ter, feminine ye-tera (ye-repa), neuter ye-tero. The origin of these two pronouns is, however, forgotten, together with their comparative meaning; for kotoryi means "who?" and yeter, "some one" (compare p. 352). Dobrowsky, however, in which he is clearly wrong, divides the suffix into ot-or; for although the interrogative base KO may lay aside its o, and combine with the demonstrative base to (kto, "quis?" Dobr. p. 342), still it is more in accordance with the history of language to divide ko-toryi than kot-oryi or koto-ryi, as the formation or would there stand quite isolated; and besides this the pronoun i, "he," from yo, does not occur in combination with the demonstrative base to, and yet ye-ter is said.

298. A small number of comparatives are formed in Sanscrit by type iyas, and the corresponding superlative by this is in which ishtha, as has been already remarked (§. 389.), we recognise a derivation from iyas in its contraction to ish (compare ish-ta, "offered," from yaj), so that the suffix of the highest degree is properly tha, through which, also, the ordinal numbers that chatur-thas (τέταρ-το-ς), and the superlative lies very close to the ordinal

numbers above two, as that of order does to the superlatives, and hence the suffix no tama occurs in ordinal numbers; e.g. विञ्ञतितमस् vinsati-tama-s, "the twentieth," wherefore ma, in forms like vant pancha-ma-s, "the fifth," may be held to be an abbreviation of tama. To the form ish, contracted from iyas—euphonic for is—in Greek and Zend is, corresponds the Latin is, in the superlatives in is-simus, which I deduce through assimilation from is-timus (comp. §. 101.); the simple is, however, which, viewed from Latin, is a contraction of ios (§. 22.), appears in the simple form in the adverb mag-is, which may be compared with μεγις in μέγισ-τος. In the strong cases (§. 129.) the Indian comparative shews a broader form than the iyas above, namely, a long a and a nasal preceding the s, thus squit iyans (see §. 9.). This form, however, may originally have been current in all the cases, as the strong form in general (§. 129.), as is probable through the pervading long ō in Latin, iōris, iōri, &c., if one would not rather regard the length of the Latin o as compensation for the rejected nasal: compare the old accusative mel-iosem, mentioned in §. 22., with Sanscrit forms like गरीयांसन् gar-iyans-am (graviorem). The breadth of the suffix, which is still remarkable in the more contracted form iyas, may be the cause why the form of the positive is exposed to great reductions before it; so that not only final vowels are rejected, as generally before Taddhita suffixes* beginning with a vowel, but whole suffixes, together with the vowel preceding them, are suppressed (Gramm. Crit. §. 252.); e.g. from मतिमत् mati-mat, "intelligent," from mati, "understanding," comes mat'-iyas; from balavat, "strong" ("gifted with strength,"

^{*} The Taddhita suffixes are those which form derivative words direct from the base itself.

from bala + vat), bal-iyas; from kshipra, "quick" (from the base kship, "to throw"), comes kshep-iyas; from kshudra, "insignificant," kshed-iyas; from tripra, "satisfied," trap-iyas; since with vowels capable of Guna the dropping of the suffix is compensated by strengthening the syllable of the base by Guna, as in the Zend vaêdista; which Burnouf (Vahista, p. 22) deduces, as it appears to me, with equal correctness and acuteness from vidvas (vídvô, §. 56^b., Sanscrit vidvas), "knowing." With respect to trapiyas, from tripra, let it be observed that ar, as Guna of ri, is easily transposed to ra (Gramm. Crit. §. 34^b.): compare the Greek έδρακον for έδαρκον; πατράσι for παταρσι (see p. 290). In a similar manner M. Ag. Benary explains the connection of variyas with uru, "great," with which he rightly compares the Greek εὐρύς (Berl. Jahrb. 1834. I. pp. 230, 231). But variyas might come from vara, "excellent," and uru might be an abbreviation of varu, which easily runs into one. To the superlative arishtha, which does not only mean latissimus but also optimus, the Greek ἄριστος (therefore Fάριστος) is without doubt akin, the connection of which with εὐρύς one could scarcely have conjectured without the Sanscrit. Remarkable, too, is the concurrence of the Greek with the Sanscrit in this point, that the former, like the latter, before the gradation suffix under discussion, disburthens itself of other more weighty suffixes (compare Burnouf's Vahista, p. 28); thus, εχθιστος, αισχιστος, οικτιστος, κύδιστος, μήκιστος, ἄλγιστος, from ἔχθρος, &c., exactly as above kshépishthas and others from kshipra; and I believe I can hence explain, according to the same principle, the lengthening of the vowel in μήκιστος, μᾶσσον, from μακρός, on which principle also rests the Guna in analogous Sanscrit forms—namely, as a compensation for the suppression of the suffix. The case is the same with the lengthened vowel in forms like $\theta \hat{a} \sigma \sigma \sigma \nu$, ασσον, where Buttmann (§. 67. Rem. 3. Note †) assumes that the comparative i has fallen back and united itself with the a (q); while, in my opinion, a different account is to be given of what has become of the i in forms like θάσσων, βράσσων (§. 300.). The formation of μέγιστος from μέγας, from μέγαλο-ς, is similar to the origin, in Sanscrit, of its banhishtha, from bahula, "much"; from bahu, "much" comes bhûyishtha; and μέγ-ιστος, in relation to MEΓΑΛΟ, has lost as much as banh-ishtha, from bahula, only that the Sanscrit positive base is compensated for the loss of ula by the addition of a nasal; which therefore, as Ag. Benary (l. c.) has very correctly remarked, rests on the same principle with the Guna in kshēpishtha.*

"Remark.—It will then, also, be necessary—as Burnouf (Yaçna, p. 131) first pointed out, but afterwards (Vahista, p. 25), in my opinion, wrongly retracted—to explain the & e of śrēyas, "better," śrēshtha, "the best," as coming from the i of śri, "fortune," by Guna, instead of the common view, in which I formerly concurred, of substituting a useless śra as positive, and hence, by contraction with iyas, ishtha, forming śrēyas, śrēshtha. From śri comes the derivation śrimat, "fortunate," from which I deduce śrē-yas, śrē-shtha, by the prescribed removal of the suffix, although one might

^{*} The Guna, however, in the gradation forms under discussion, might also be accounted for in a different way, namely, by bringing it into connection with the Vriddhi, which occurs before many other Taddhita suffixes, especially in patronymes, as decide vaivaswata, from ferent vivaswat. On account of the great weight of the gradation suffixes iyas, ishtha, which has given rise to the suppression of the suffix of the positive base, the initial vowel also of the same would accordingly be raised by the weaker Guna, instead of by the Vriddhi, as usual (§. 26.). Be that how it may, one must in any case have ground to assume an historic connection between the Grecian vowel-lengthening in $\mu \hat{\eta} \kappa \iota \sigma \tau \sigma_i$, $\theta \hat{a} \sigma \sigma \sigma_i$, and others, and that of Sanscrit forms like kshlpiyas, kshlpishtha.

[†] If there existed, as in Zend, a shrira, one might hence also derive the above gradations.

expect in the superlative fray-ishtha, euphonic for fre-ishtha; and on this ground it is that Burnouf takes his objection. But as in Greek εκα-στος, όπό-στος (see p. 376), in spite of the want of the 1 of 10705, are nevertheless nothing else than superlative forms, I do not see why, in certain cases, in Sanscrit, also, the suppression of an i may not hold good. This happens, moreover, in sthe-shtha from sthi-ra, "fast," sphê-shtha from sphi-ra, "swollen," and prê-shtha from priy-a, In the latter case, after removing the suffix a, the preceding y, also, must retire, since priy is only a euphonic alteration of pri (Gramm. Crit. §. 51.) As to the derivation, however, of the meanings melior, optimus, from a positive with the meaning "fortunate," it may be further remarked, that, in Sanscrit, "fortune" and "splendour" are generally the fundamental notions for that which is good and excellent; hence, bhagavat, "the honourable," "the excellent," properly, "the man gifted with fortune"; for our besserer, bester, also Gothic bat-iza, bat-ists, are associated with a Sanscrit base denoting fortune (bhad, whence bhadra, "fortunate," "excellent"), which Pott was acute enough first to remark (Etymol. Inquiries, p. 245), who collates also botyan, "to use." The old d gives, according to §. 87., in the Gothic t, and the Sanscrit bh becomes b. It might appear too daring if we made an attempt to refer melior also to this base; but kindred words often assume the most estranged form through doubled transitions of sound, which, although doubled, are usual. It is very common for d to become l (§. 17.), and also between labial medials and the nasal of this organ there prevails no unfrequent exchange (comp. §. 63.). If, also, the Greek βελτίων, βέλτιστος, should belong to this class, and the τ be an unorganic addition, which is wanting in βέλ-τερος, βέλ-τατος, βελ would then give the The ideal positive middle step between we bhad and mel. of βελτίων, namely ἀγαθός, might be connected with warra agadha, "deep," with which, also, the Gothic goths (theme

gôda) is to be compared, with ô, according to rule, for with ô (§. 69.), and medials for Greek aspirates, according to §. 87.

299. From the strong theme ईयांस iyans, mentioned at §. 298., comes the nominative iyan, with the suppression of the final letter rendered necessary through §. 94. vocative has a short a, and sounds iyan. To iyan answers the Greek iwv, and to the vocative iyan answers iov; to the neuter iyas (N. A. V.), identical with the weak theme, corresponds the Latin ius (§. 22.). The Greek, however, cannot become repossessed of the s, which is abandoned in Sanscrit in the nominative and vocative masculine for legitimate reasons, since it declines its comparative as though its theme terminated from the first with ν ; hence accusative τον-α for the Sanscrit **ξυίπ** τyáns-am, Latin iōr-em (iōs-em, §. 22.), genitive īov-os for iyas-as, iōr-is. However, one might, as Pott has already, I believe, noticed somewhere, reduce the contracted forms like βελτίω, βελτίους, to an original τοσα, τοσες, τοσας, corresponding to iyansam, iyansi (neuter plural), iyans-as, iyas-as, the o of which, as is so common between two vowels, would be rejected.* On the other hand, ν , except in comparatives, on the presupposition that the contracted forms have rejected an ν and not σ , is suppressed only in a few isolated words (᾿Απόλλω, Ποσειδῶ, εἰκώ, ἀηδοῦς, and a few others), which, however, the theoretic derivation of the comparative Z renders very embarrassing. We would therefore prefer giving up this, and assuming, that while the Sanscrit of ns in the weak, i.e. in the majority of cases, has abandoned the former consonant, the Greek, which was still less favourable to the $\nu\sigma$ -, has given up the latter, as perhaps one may suppose in the oldest, as it were, pre-Grecian period, forms like $\beta \epsilon \lambda \tau io \nu \sigma a$. It is, however, remarkable, that while all other European sister lan-

^{*} Comp. pp. 305, 306, &c.

guages have only preserved the last element of the comparative ns—the Latin in the form of r—and while the Sanscrit also shews more indulgence for the s than for the n, the Greek alone has preserved the nasal; so that in the comparative it differs in this respect from all the other languages. Without the intervention of the Sanscrit and Zend it would be hardly possible to adduce from the European sister languages a kindred termination to the Greek $\bar{\iota}\omega\nu$, $\bar{\iota}o\nu$; or if $i\bar{o}r$ and $\bar{\iota}\omega\nu$ should be compared, one would think rather of a permutation of liquids,* than that behind the Greek ν the prototype of the Latin r, namely σ , has originally existed.

300. In Zend, the superlatives in sita are more numerous than the corresponding ones in Sanscrit, and require no authentication. With regard to their theory, Burnouf has rendered important service, by his excellent treatise on the Vahista; and his remarks are also useful to us in Sanscrit Grammar. In form אנטשאָע ista stands nearer to the Greek 1070-5 than the Indian ishtha, and is completely identical with the Gothic ista, nom. ist'-s (§. 135.), as the Zend frequently exhibits t for the Sanscrit aspirates. The comparative form which belongs to ista is much more rare, but perhaps only on account of the want of occasion for its appearance in the authorities which have been handed down to us, in which, also, the form in tara can only scantily be cited. An example of the comparative under discussion is the feminine אנענגמשנ*ץ masyehî*, which occurs repeatedly, and to which I have already elsewhere drawn attention.† It springs from the positive base

^{*} Comp. §. 20.

[†] Berl. Jahrb. 1831. I. p. 372. I then conceived this form to be thus arrived at, that the y of the Sanscrit yas had disappeared, as in the genitive ending $h\hat{e}$, from xya; after which the x must have passed into y. Still the above view of the case, which is also the one chosen by Burnouf,

אנענענ mašaš, "great" (mašo, mašah, mašanh, §§. 56°. 56°.), and confirms, like other Zend forms, the theory which holds good for the Sanscrit, that other suffixes fall away before the exponents of the comparative and superlative relation under discussion. If yêhî is compared with the Sanscrit feminine base iyasi, the loss of the i shews itself, and then the a has, through the power of assimilation of the y (§. 42.), become ℓ , and s has, according to §. 53., become h. the loss of the i the Zend coincides with the Sanscrit forms like śrê-yas, mentioned at p. 397, with which, also, bhû-yas, "more," and jyá-yas, "older," agree. Greek comparatives with a doubled σ before ων, as κρείσσων, βράσσων, ἐλάσσων, are based on this; which, according to a law of euphony very universally followed in Prakrit, have assimilated the y to the preceding consonant, as elsewhere ἄλλος from άλγος, Gothic alja-, Latin aliu-s, Sanscrit anya, are explained (Demonstrative Bases, p. 20). In Prakrit, in the assimilations which are extremely common in this dialect, the weaker consonant assimilates itself to the stronger, whether this precedes or follows it; thus anna, "the other," from anya, corresponds to the Greek ἄλλος; the Sanscrit tasya, "hujus," becomes tassa; bhavishyati, "he will be," becomes bhavissadi,* divya, "heavenly," divva; from

is simpler, and closer at hand, although the other cannot be shewn to be impossible; for it is certain that if the y of iyas had disappeared in Zend, it would fall to the turn of the preceding it to become y.

^{*} Comp. ¿σσομαι, from ¿σjoμαι, with enfer syâmi, in composition with attributive verbs. It may be allowed here preliminarily to mention another interesting Prakrit form of the future, which consists in this, that the Sanscrit s passes into h, but the syllable u ya is contracted to i, herein agreeing with the Latin i in eris, erit, amabis, amabit, &c.; as, karihisi, "thou willst make," from karishyasi; sahîhimi, "I will endure," from sahishyâmi, instead of the medial form sahishyê (Urvasî, by Lenz. p. 59).

which it is clear that v is stronger than y, as it also is more powerful than r; hence savva from sarva, "the former." It is remarkable that the i also of iti thus assimilates itself to the following t; hence tti, which, in pronunciation, naturally leans upon the word preceding. Therefore one might thus also, without presupposition of a form ywv, establish the assimilation from iwv. As to the transition of the consonant of the positive base into σ (κρέισσων, βράσ-σων, βάσ-σων, μάσ-σων, ἐλάσ-σων, &cc.), to which the y has assimilated, the transition of τ , δ , θ , into σ need least of all surprise us (see §. 99.); but with regard to the gutturals, the Old Sclavonic may be noticed, in which, besides what has been remarked in §. 255. (m.), y, i, and e which latter comes very near the vowel combined with a y, and is frequently the remainder of the syllable yeexert an influence on a guttural preceding them, similar to that which the comparative y or i produces in Greek. Before the i, namely, of the nominative plural, and before ye in the dative and locative singular, as before i and ye of the imperative, kh becomes s; e.g. gryes-i from gryekh, as θάσ-σων from θάσ-γων, from ταχ-; g becomes ζ, e.g. průζi from prûg, as μείζων, όλίζων, from μειζ γων, όλιζ γων, from $\mu \epsilon \gamma$ -, $\delta \lambda_i \gamma$ -; k becomes ch, while in Greek κ is modified in the same way as χ . On account of the contracted nature of the ζ (= $\delta\sigma$) no assimilation takes place after it, but the yentirely disappears, or, in $\mu \epsilon i \zeta \omega \nu$, is pressed into the interior of the word (comp. §. 119.), as in ἀμείνων, χείρων, which latter may be akin to the Sanscrit was adhara, "the under (man)," consequent upon aphæresis of the a (comp. §. 401.). With the superlative μέγιστος compare the Zend υγευχυξ mazista, where ζ z, according to §. 57., answers to the Sanscrit h of אנעננמיטן mahat, "great"; while in the above אנעננמיטן masyéhî, as in the positive masas (euphonically masô), s stands irregularly for z, as if the Zend, by its permutation of consonants in this word, would vie with the Greek; but

301. As in the Latin comparative a suffix has raised itself to universal currency, which in Sanscrit and Greek is only sparingly applied, but was, perhaps, originally, similarly with the form in tara, $\tau \in \rho \circ -\varsigma$, in universal use; so the German, the Sclavonic, and Lithuanian, in their degrees of comparison everywhere attach themselves to the more rare forms in Sanscrit and Greek; and indeed in the Gothic the suffix of the comparative shews itself in the same shortened form in which it appears in the Sanscrit, Zend, Greek, and Latin, in its combination with the superlative suffix (see p. 278); namely, as is, most plainly in adverbs like mais, "more," whose connection with comparatives in the Sanscrit, &c., I first pointed out in the Berl. Jahrb. (May 1827, p. 742). We must divide, therefore, thus, ma-is; and this word, as well in the base as in the termination, is identical with the Latin mag-is (comp. μέγισ-τος, p. 402); whence it is clear that the Gothic form has lost a guttural (compare ma-jor for mag-ior), which, in mikils, "great"—which has weakened the old a to i-appears, according to the rule for the removal of letters (§. 87.), as k. Mais, therefore, far as it seems to be separated from it, is, in base and formation, related to the Zend maz-yo (from maz-yas), which we have become acquainted with above (p. 403) in the sense of "more."

"Remark.—There are some other comparative adverbs in is, of which, the first time I treated of this subject, I was not in possession, and which Grimm has since (III. 589, &c.) represented as analogous to mais. He has further, l. c. p. 88, considered, with Fulda, hauhis, ἀνώτερον, as the genitive of the positive hauhs, "high" For the rest, hauhis stands in exactly the same relation to hauhiza, "the higher," that mais does to maiza, "the greater."

Compared with the Zend maz-yô and Greek μείζ-ων, one might believe the z in maiza belonged to the positive base, partly as the Old High German adds a second comparative suffix to its adverb mer, answering to the Gothic mais (mériro, "major") because in mêr no formal expression of the comparative relation is retained. Raihtis, which Grimm wishes to leave under the forms which, III. p. 88, are considered as genitive, seems to me properly to signify polius, or our rechter; and I consider it, therefore, as a comparative, although the Old High German rehtes, examined from the point of view of the Old High German, can only be a genitive, and the comparative adverb is rehtor. The comparative ga-raihtôza, "justior," which may be cited in Gothic, does not prevent the assumption that there may have been also in use a raihtiza, as in all adjectives iza may just as well be expected as ôza; for, together with the comparative adverb frum6z6, "at first" (R. xi. 35), occurs the superlative frumists. Perhaps, however, the genius of the Old High German language has allowed itself to be deceived through the identity of the comparative suffix is with the genitive termination i-s; and taking some obscure comparatives, which have been transmitted to it for genitives, left them the s, which, in evident comparatives, must pass into r; but it is also still retained as sin wirs, 'pejus,' I prefer to consider, also, allis, 'omnino,' as a comparative, in order entirely to exclude the Gothic apparent genitive adverbs from the class of adjectives. In the Old High German, together with alles, 'omnino,' exists alles, 'aliter,' which, according to its origin, is an essentially different word—through assimilation from alyes, as above (p. 401) ἄλλος—in which the comparative termination, in the Latin ali-ter and similar adverbs, is to be observed. probability that these forms, which, to use the expression, are clothed as genitives, are, by their origin, comparatives, is still further increased thereby, that together with eines,

'semel,' and anderes, 'aliter,' there occur, also, forms in the guise of superlatives, namely, einest, 'once' (see Graff, p. 329), and anderest, 'again.' Some comparative adverbs of this sort omit, in Gothic, the i of is; thus min-s, 'less' (compare minor, minus, for minior, minius), perhaps vair-s, 'worse,' which is raised anew into vairsiza, 'pejor,' and may be connected with the Sanscrit avara, 'posterus,' as above $\chi e i \rho \omega \nu$ was compared with the adhara; seith-s, 'amplius' (from seithu, 'late'); and probably, also, suns, 'statim,' and anaks, 'subito.'

302. The comparative-suffix is required in Gothic, where the consonant s is no longer capable of declension," an unorganic addition, or otherwise the sibilant would have been necessarily suppressed. The language, however, preserved this letter, as its meaning was still too powerfully perceived, by the favourite addition an, which we have seen above, though without the same urgent necessity, joined to participial bases in nd in their adjective state (§. 289.). As, then, s comes to be inserted between two vowels, it must, by \S . 86. (5.), be changed into z: hence the modern theme MAIZAN, from the original MAIS, which has remained unaltered in the adverb. The nominatives masculine and neuter are, according to §§. 140. 141., maiza, maizô. the other hand the feminine base does not develope itself from the masculine and neuter base MAIZAN—as in general from the unorganic bases in an of the indefinite adjectives

^{*} A base in s, as the abovementioned mais, would not be distinguished from the theme in all the cases of the singular, as also in the nominative and accusative plural, as, of a final double s, the latter must be rejected (comp. drus, "fall," for drus-s from drusa-s, p. 377, Rem.). In the nominative and genitive singular, therefore, the form mais-s must become mais; just as, in the nominative and accusative plural, where ahman-s comes from the theme ahman. The dative singular is, in bases ending in a consonant, without exception devoid of inflection; and so is the accusative, in substantives of every kind.

no feminines arise—but to the original feminine base in i, which exists in the Sanscrit and Zend, an n is added, as in the participle present; thus MAIZEIN (ei = i, §. 70.), from mais + ein, answers to the Zend feminine base of the same import, אַנאָטאָר mażythi, and Sanscrit forms like אונפתעה import, אונהאטן gariyas-î, from gariyas. The nominative maizei may then, according to §. 142., be deduced from MAIZEIN, or may be viewed as a continuation of the form in Zend and Sanscrit which, in the nominative, is identical with the theme (§. 137.); in which respect again the participle present (§. 290.) is to be compared. These two kinds of feminines, namely, of the participle and the comparative, stand in Gothic very isolated; but the ground of their peculiarity, which Jacob Grimm, III. 566, calls still undiscovered (compare I. 756), appears to me, through what has been said, to be completely disclosed; and I have already declared my opinion in this sense before.* The Old High German has

^{*} Berl. Jahrb. May 1827, p. 743, &c. Perhaps Grimm had not yet, in the passage quoted above, become acquainted with my review of the two first parts of his Grammar; while he afterwards (II. 650.) agrees with my view of the matter. I find, however, the comparison of the transition of the Gothic s into z with that of the Indian z s into z sh inadmissible, as the two transitions rest upon euphonic laws which are entirely distinct; of which the one, which obtains in the Gothic (§. 86. 5.), is just as foreign to the Sanscrit, as the Sanscrit (§. 21. and Gramm. Crit. 1012.) is to the Gothic. It is further to be observed, that, on account of the difference of these laws, the Sanscrit we sh remains also in the superlative, where the Gothic has always st, not st. In respect to Greek, it may here be further remarked, that Grimm, l. c. p. 651, in that language, also, admits an original s in the comparative; which he, however, does not seek behind the v of 100v, as appears from §. 299., but before it; so that he wishes to divide thus μεί-ζων, as an abbreviation of μεγίζων; and regards the ζ not as a corruption of the γ , as Buttmann also assumes, but as a comparative character, as in the kindred Gothic ma-iza. The Greek w, or would, according to this, appear identical with the unorganic Gothic an in MAIZAN; while we have assigned it, in §. 299., a legitimate foundation, by tracing it back to the Sanscrit ans.

path, and gives, as corresponding to the Gothic minnizei, "the lesser" (fem.), not minniri, but minnira. The Gothic s, however, was, in the High German comparatives, in the earliest period transmuted into r, whence, in this respect, minniro, minnira, has more resemblance to the Latin minor than to the Gothic minniza, minnizei.

303. The comparative suffix in the Gothic, besides is, iz-an, exhibits also the form os, oz-an: it is, however, more rare; but in the Old High German has become so current, that there are more comparatives in it in bro (nominative masculine), ôra (nominative feminine and neuter), than in iro, ira, or ëro, ëra. The few forms in OZAN which can be adduced in Gothic are, svinthôza, "fortior" (nominative masculine), frôdôza, "prudentior," frumôza, "prior," hlasôza, "hilarior," garaihtôza, "justior," framaldrôza, "provectior ætate," usdaudoza, "sollicitior," unsvikunthôzů, "inclarior" (Massmann, p. 47), and the adverbs sniumundos, "σπουδαιοτέρως," and alyaleikos, "έτέρως." How, then, is the θ in these forms to be explained, contrasted with the i of IS, IZAN? I believe only as coming from the long a of the Sanscrit strong themes iyans or yans (§§. 299. 300.), with o, according to rule, for जा å (§. 69.). If one goes from the latter form, which, in the Zend, is the only one that can be adduced, then, beside the nasal, which is lost also in the Latin and in the weak cases in the Sanscrit, yans has lost in the Gothic either the a or the y = j, which, when the d is suppressed, must be changed into a vowel. Gothic ds, dz, and still more the Old High German dr, correspond, therefore, exactly to the Latin or in minor, minor-is, for minior. There is reason to assume that, in the Gothic, originally y and θ existed in juxta-position to one another; and that for minniza, "the lesser," was used minnyôza, and for frôdôza, "the more intelligent," frôdyôza. The forms which have lost the y are represented in Latin by minor, minus, and plus, and those with & suppressed by mag-is. One cannot, however, in Gothic, properly require any superlatives in OSTA, nom. Ost-s, corresponding to the comparatives in de, dz; because this degree in the Sanscrit, Zend, Greek, and Latin always springs from the form of the comparative, contracted to is, ish. It is, however, quite regular, that, to the frumoza, "prior," corresponds a frumists, "primus," not frumôsts. To the remaining comparatives in ôza the superlative is not yet adduced; but in the more recent dialects the comparatives have formed superlatives with 6, after their fashion; and thus, in the Old High German, bet usually stands in the superlative, where the comparative has δr : the Gothic furnishes two examples of this confusion of the use of language, in lasivôsts, "infirmissimus" (1 Cor. xii. 22.), and armôsts, "miserrimus" (1 Cor. xv. 19.).

304. In the rejection of the final vowel of the positive base before the suffixes of intensity the German agrees with the languages of the cognate base; hence sut'-iza, from $SUTU^*$, "sweet"; hard'-iza, from HARDU, "hard"; seith-s (thanaseiths, "amplius"), from SEITHU, "late"; as in the Greek $\dot{\eta}\delta\dot{l}\omega\nu$ from 'H $\Delta\Upsilon$, and in the Sanscrit laghiyas from laghu, "light." Ya also is rejected; hence $sp\dot{e}d'$ -iza, from SPEDYA, "late" (see p. 358. Rem. 7.); reik'-iza, from REIKYA, "rich." One could not therefore regard the θ , in forms like $fr\dot{\theta}d\dot{\theta}za$, as merely a lengthening of the a in $FR\overline{O}DA$ (§. 69.), as it would be completely contrary to the principle of these formations, not only not to suppress the final vowel of the positive base, but even to lengthen it. The explanation of the comparative θ given at §. 303. remains therefore the only one that can be relied upon.

^{*} The positive does not occur, but the Sanscrit svadu-s and Greek $\dot{\eta}\dot{\delta}\dot{v}$ -s lead us to expect a final u.

- 305. In the Old Sclavonic, according to Dobrowsky, p. 332, &c., the comparative is formed in three ways, namely,
- (1) By masculine ii, feminine shi, neuter yee; as ûnii, " of the better persons"; anshi, "the better persons"; anyee, "the best thing," from a positive which has been lost, as batiza, melior, and ἀμείνων; and it is perhaps connected in its base with the latter, so that α may have become o (§. 255. a.), but μ , \check{u} , as frequently occurs with n; and this \check{u} , with the preceding o, becomes û (*).* Mnii, "the lesser," fem. menshi, neuter mnyee, spring, in like manner, from a positive which has been lost. Bolii, "the greater," fem. bolshi, neuter bolyee, may be compared with the Sanscrit baliyan, "the stronger" (p. 396), fem. baliyasî, neuter balîyas.† For bolii is also used bolyei; and all the remaining comparatives which belong to this class have yet for it, and thus answer better to the neuter form yee. If, as appears to be the case, the form yei is the genuine one, then ye answers to the Sanscrit yas of jyd-yas, bhû-yas, srê-yas, &c. (§. 300.), and the loss of the s is explained by §. 255. (l.); the final i of ye-i, however, is the definitive pronoun (§. 284), for comparatives always follow, in the masculine and neuter, the definite declension. In the feminine in shi it is easy to recognise the Sanscrit si of iyas-i or yas-i, and herewith also the Gothic zei (oblique theme ZEIN,

^{*} The a in auxivor appears to me to be privative; so that univer would seem to be a sister form to the Latin minor, Gothic minniza, Sclavonic mnii; and auxivor would properly signify "the not lesser," "the not more trifling." Perhaps this word is also inherent in omnis; so that o for a would be the negation, which, in Latin, appears as in; in which it may be observed, that, in Sanscrit, a-sakrit, literally "not once," has taken the representation of the meaning "several times."

[†] The positive velil, with v for b and e for o, occurs only in this definite form (Dobr. p. 320); the primitive and indefinite form must be vel. With respect to the stronger o corresponding to the weaker letter e (§. 255. a.), bolil, in the positive, answers to the manner in which vowels are strengthened in Sanscrit, as mentioned at §. 298.

p. 404); that is to say, bol-shi, "the greater" (fem.), corresponds to the Sanscrit aglatil baliyasi, "the stronger," and menshi, "the lesser," to the Gothic minn-izei. While, therefore, the Sclavonic masculine and neuter have lost the s of the Sanscrit yas, the feminine has lost the ya of yas-i.* This feminine shi, also, in departure from (2) and (3), keeps free from the definite pronoun. There are some comparative adverbs in e, as the abbreviation of ye (§. 255. n.), which in like manner dispense with the definite pronoun; thus, une, "better"; bole, "greater"—in Servian MSS. Unye, bolye; pache, "more," probably related to παχύς, πᾶσσων; so that (which is very obscure) the final vowel of pache for pach-ye, for reasons which have been given before, is, in fact, identical with the Greek σο of πάσ-σον for πασ-γον. The ch of pache may, according to p. 402, be regarded as a modification of k, as the first σ of $\pi \hat{\alpha} \sigma \sigma \sigma \sigma \nu$ has developed itself from χ . Thus the ζ of dol ζ -yee, "longer" (neuter and adverb), as euphonic representative of the g of dolg, dolga, dolgo (longus, -a, -um), answers remarkably to the Greek ζ in μείζων, δλίζων, for μείγων, δλίγων. That, however, the positive dolg is connected with the Greek δολιχός needs scarce to be mentioned. Somewhat more distant is the Sanscrit दीर्थम् dirgha-s, of the same meaning, in which the frequently-occurring interchange between τ and l is

^{*} It may be proper here to call remembrance to the past gerund, properly a participle, which in the strong cases vâns, nom. masc. vân for vans, fem. ushi, neuter vat for vas, corresponds to the Sanscrit of the reduplicated preterite in vas. The old Sclavonic has here, in the nominative masculine, where the s should stand at the end, lost this letter, according to §. 255. (l.); as by-v, "qui fuit," but by-vshi, "qua fuit"; and in the masculine also, in preference to the comparative, the s again appears in the oblique cases, because there the Sanscrit exhibits after the s terminations beginning with a vowel; so in rek-sh, "eum qui dixit," the sh corresponds to the Sanscrit vâns-am, as rurud-vâns-am, "eum qui ploravit.

to be noticed (§. 20.). The ι of $\delta o \lambda \iota \chi \delta \varsigma$, however, shews itself, by the evidence of the Sclavonic and Sanscrit, to be an unorganic addition. Let garyee, "pejus," be compared with the Sanscrit gariyas, "gravius," from guru, "heavy"—according to Burnouf's correct remark from garu, as this adjective is pronounced in Pali—through the assimilating influence of the final u, to which the kindred Greek $\beta \alpha \rho \dot{\nu}_{\varsigma}$ has permitted no euphonic reaction.

(2) The second, by far the most prevalent form of the Old Sclavonic comparative, is nominative masculine shii, feminine shaya, neuter shee. The i of shii is the definitive pronoun, which, in the feminine, is ya, and in the neuter e for ye (§§. 282. 284.). After the loss, then, of this pronoun, there remains shi, sha, she; and these are abbreviations of shyo, shya, shye, as we have seen, p. 332, the adjective base SINYO (nominative siny), before its union with the defining i, contracted to sini (sini-i, neuter sine-e for sinye-y. The definite feminine of SINYO is sinya-ya; and as to the feminine comparatives not being shya-ya but sha-ya, this rests on the special ground that sibilants gladly free themselves from a following y, especially before a (Dobrowsky, p. 12); so in the feminine nominatives dûsha, sûsha, chasha, for sûsya, &c. (Dobr. p. 279). The relation of the comparative form under discussion to the Sanscrit पस yas and Zend אנגענ yas (p. 401) is therefore to be taken thus, that the ya which precedes the s is suppressed, as in the above feminines in shi; but for it, at the end, is added an unorganic YO, which corresponds to the Gothic-Lithuanian YA in the themes NIUYA, NAUYA, "new," answering to नव nava, NOVU, NEO, Sclavonic NOVO. This adjunct YO has preserved the comparative sibilant in the masculine and neuter, which, in the first formation, must yield to the euphonic law, §. 255. (1.) Examples of this second formation are, ûn-shii, "the better," masculine and feminine

ûn-shaya, neuter ûn-shee; pûst-shii from pûst, theme $P\overline{U}STO$, "desert." Hence it is clear that the final vowel of the positive base is rejected, as in all the kindred languages, however difficult the combination of the t with s. Even whole suffixes are rejected, in accordance with §. 298.; as, glûb-shii from glûbok, "deep" (definite, glûboky-i), sladshii from sladok, "sweet."*

(3) Masculine yeishii, feminine yeishaya, neuter yeishee; but after sch, sh and ch, ai stands for yei: and this ai evidently stands only euphonically for yai, since the said sibilants, as has been already remarked, gladly divest themselves of a following y: hence blasch-aishii, "the better" (masculine), from blag (theme BLAGO), "good," since g, through the influence of the y following, gives way to a sibilant, which has subsequently absorbed the y; compare δλίζ-ων, for δλιγ-ίων, δλιγ-yων (p. 402): so tish-aishii, from tikh (theme TIKHO), "still," as in the Greek θάσ-σων from ταχύς. As example of the form

^{*} I hold ko, whence in the nom. masc. k, for the suffix of the positive base, but the preceding o for the final vowel of the lost primitive; and this o corresponds either to a Sanscrit a, according to §. 255. (a.), or to an u, according to §. 255. (c.); for example, tano-k, "thin," theme TANOKO, corresponds to the Sanscrit tanu-s, "thin," Greek rave; and slado-k to the Sanscrit svidu-s, "sweet," with exchange of the v for L according to §. 20. Thus the above slud-shill shews itself to be originally identical, as well in the suffix of the positive as of the other degrees with the Greek id-law and Gothic sut-isa (§. 304.), far as the external difference may separate them; and to the Sclavonic is due, as to the truer preservation of the fundamental word, the preference above the Greek and Gothic, although, on account of the unexpected transition of the v into l, the origin of the Sclavonic word is more difficult to recognise.

[†] Dobrowsky says (p. 334) from blagyi (this is the definite, see §. 284.): it is, however, evident that the comparative has not arisen from the adjective compounded with a pronoun, but from the simple indefinite one.

[‡] Compare the Sanscrit adverb tushnim, "still," with the remark at §. 255. (m.).

with yei, yûn-yeishii, "junior," from yûn, may serve. Whence comes, then, the yei or ai (for yai), which this formation shews before the second? It might be supposed that to the first formation in yei, where, for example, also yûn-yei, "the younger (man)," occurs, that of the second has also been added, as in Old High German mêrero, "the greater" (masculine), and in Gothic, probably, vairsiza, "the worse" (p. 405), are raised twice to the comparative degree; and as, in Persian, the superlatives in terin, in my opinion, contain, as their last element, the comparative ईयांस iyans, which forms, in the nominative masculine, iyan, and from this could be easily contracted to in. In Persian the comparative is formed through ter; as, behter, "the better," whence behterin, "the best." Now it deserves remark, that in Old Sclavonic the formation before us frequently occurs with a superlative meaning, while in the more modern dialects the superlative relation is expressed through the comparative with nai, "more," prefixed (probably from mai = Gothic mais, according to §. 255. (1.). The only objection to this mode of explanation is this, that the element of the first formation ye-i has not once laid aside the definitive pronoun i, which is foreign to the comparative; so that therefore in yûn-yeĭ-shiĭ the said pronoun would be contained twice. There is, however, another way of explaining this yeishii or (y)aishii, namely, as an exact transmission of the Sanscrit iyas or yas, from which the second formation has only preserved the sibilant; but the third, together with this letter, may have retained Still, even in this method, the also that which preceded. i of yei, (y)ai, is embarrassing, if it be not assumed that it owes its origin to a transposition of the i of iya.

306. As to the remark made at p. 400, that among the European languages the Greek only has preserved the nasal, which the Sanscrit shews in the strong cases of the comparative suffix iyans, I must here admit a limitation in

favour of the Lithuanian, which, exceeding in this point the Greek, continues not only the nasal, but also the comparative sibilant through all the cases. As example, gerésnis, "the better" (m.), may serve, with which we would compare the Sanscrit gariyansam, "graviorem" (nominative gariyan). It may be, but it is not of much consequence to us, that gerësnis and gariyans (strong theme) are also connected in the positive base; so that, as according to p. 398, in Greek and Gothic goodness is measured by depth, in Lithuanian it is measured by weight. The Sanscrit comparative under discussion means, also, not only "heavier," or "very heavy," but also, according to Wilson, "highly venerable." In order, however, to analyze the Lithuanian gerésnis, gerésnis stands for gerésnias, the theme is clearly GERESNIA; hence genitive gerésnio, dative gerésniam; as géro, gerám, from géra-s. The termination ia, therefore for which ya might be expected, the y of which, as it appears for the avoiding of a great accumulation of consonants, has been resolved into i-corresponds to the unorganic addition which we, p. 411, have observed in Sclavonic compara-We have now geresn remaining, which I regard as a metathesis from gerens,* through which we come very near the Sanscrit gariyans. But we come still nearer to it through the observation, that, in Lithuanian, e is often produced by the euphonic influence of a preceding y or i (§. 193.). We believe, therefore, that here also we may explain gerésn as from geryasn (geryans), and further recall attention to the Zend successf masyehi (§. 300.). The emphasis upon the e of gerésnis may be attributable to the original length in the Sanscrit strong theme gariyans. Hence the astonishing accuracy may justly be celebrated

^{*} This has been already alluded to by Grimm (III. 635. Note *), who has, however, given the preference to another explanation, by which esnis is similarly arrived at with the Latin issimus.

with which the Lithuanian, even to the present day, continues to use the Sanscrit comparative suffix iyans, or rather its more rare form preferred in Zend yans.

307. The Lithuanian superlative suffix is only another modification of the comparative. The nasal, that is to say, which in the latter is transposed, is, in the superlative, left in its original place: it is, however, as often happens, resolved into u, and to the s which ends the theme in the Sanscrit, which, in Lithuanian, is not declinable (§. 128.), is added ia: hence GERAUSIA, the nominative of which, however, in departure from gerésnis, has dropped, not the a, but the i; thus gerausa-s, gen. gerausio, and, in the feminine, gerausa, gerausios; in which forms, contrary to the principle which is very generally followed in the comparative and elsewhere, the i has exercised no euphonic influence.

"Remark.—With respect to the Sanscrit gradationsuffixes tara, tama, I have further to add, that they also occur in combination with the inseparable preposition the sansorit gradation
with the inseparable preposition the sansorit gradation
with the inseparable preposition the sansorit gradation
with the higher, ut-tama, the highest, as above
(§. 295.) af-tuma, and in Latin ex-timus, in-timus. I think,
however, I recognise the base of ut-tara, ut-tama, in the
Greek ψς of ψσ-τερος, ψσ-τατος, with the unorganic spir. asp., as
in ἐκάτερος, corresponding to the Sanscrit ἐkatara-s, and with
σ from τ (compare §. 99.), in which it is to be remarked that
also in the Zend for ut-tara, ut-tama, according to §. 102.,
us-tara, us-těma, might be expected.

^{*} Comp. §. 255. (g.); in addition to which it may be here further remarked, that in all probability the u also in Gothic conjunctives like haitau, haihaityau is of nasal origin.

NUMERALS.

CARDINAL NUMBERS.

308. I. In the designation of the number one great difference prevails among the Indo-European languages, which springs from this, that this number is expressed by pronouns of the 3d person, whose original abundance affords satisfactory explanation regarding the multiplicity of expressions for one. The Sanscrit eka, whose comparative we have recognised in the Greek ἐκάτερος, is, in my opinion, the combination of the demonstrative base é, of which hereafter, with the interrogative base ka, which also, in combination with api, "also" (nom. masc. kô pi), signifies "whoever"; and even without this api, if an interrogative expression precedes, as Bhagavad-Gîtâ, II. 21, कर्ष स पुरुषः पार्थ कङ् चातयित हिमा कम् kathan sa purushah Partha kan ghatayati hanti kam, "How does this person, O Pârthas, leave one dead, slay one?" The Zend אמאנע aeva, is connected with the Sanscrit pronominal adverbs eva, "also," "only," &c., and evam, "so," of which the latter is an accusative, and the former, perhaps, an instrumental, according to the principle of the Zend language (§. 158.). The Gothic ain'-s, theme AINA, our einer, rests on the Sanscrit defective pronoun êna (§. 72.), whence, among others, comes the accusative masculine ena-m, "this." this pronominal base belongs, perhaps, also the Old Latin oinos, which occurs in the Scipionian epitaphs, from which the more modern unus may be deduced, through the usual transition of the old \check{o} into u, being lengthened to make up for the i which is suppressed. Still anus shews, also, a surprising resemblance to the Sanscrit una-s, which properly means "less," and is prefixed to the higher numerals in order to express diminution by one; as, ûnavinshati, "undeviginti," ûnatrinshat, "undetriginta." This ûnas would

have appeared in Latin, most accurately retained under the form of unu-s, or, more anciently, uno-s. The Greek EN is founded, it is highly probable, in like manner, on the demonstrative base एन êna, and has lost its final vowel, as the Gothic AINA, in the masculine nominative ains: with respect to the έ for ê compare έκάτερος. On the other hand, olos, "unicus," if it has arisen from olvos (compare oinos), as μείζω from μείζονα, has retained the Indian diphthong more truly, and has also preserved the final vowel of en ena. If ovos, the number one in dice, really has its name from the idea of unity, one might refer this word to the demonstrative base we ana, Sclavonic ONO (nominative on, "the former"), which also plays a part in the formation of words, where oun corresponds to the Sanscrit suffix ana (feminine of the masculine and neuter ana), if it is not to be referred to the medial participle in ana, as $\mu o \nu \eta$ to mana. The Old Sclavonic yedin, "one," is clearly connected with the Sanscrit wift adi, "the first," with y which has been prefixed according to §. 255. (n.): on the other hand, in the Lithuanian wiena-s, if it is connected with the Gothic AINA and Sanscrit एन ėna, an unorganic w has made its appearance. to the ie for te compare, also, wies-te, "knowledge," with वेदि vêdmi, " I know."

"Remark.—The German has some remarkable expressions, in which the number one lies very much concealed as to its form, and partly, too, as to its idea: they are, in Gothic, haihs, "one-eyed," hanfs, "one-handed," halts, "lame," and halbs, "half." In all these words the number one is expressed by ha; and in this syllable I recognise a corruption of the abovementioned Sanscrit a ka for the expression of the abovementioned Sanscrit a ka for the mutation of consonants (§. 87.). It would be erroneous to refer here to the Zend we ha of personal we harkeret, "once" (Sanscrit and sakrit), as the Zend we harkeret, "once" (Sanscrit and sakrit), as the Zend we harkeret, "once" (Sanscrit and sakrit), as the Zend we harkeret, "once" (Sanscrit and sakrit), as the Zend we harkeret, "once" (Sanscrit and sakrit), as the Zend we harkeret, "once" (Sanscrit and sakrit), as the Zend we harkeret, "once" (Sanscrit and sakrit), as the Zend we harkeret, "once" (Sanscrit and sakrit), as the Zend we harkeret, "once" (Sanscrit and sakrit), as the Zend we harkeret, "once" (Sanscrit and sakrit), as the Zend we harkeret, "once" (Sanscrit and sakrit), as the Zend we harkeret, "once" (Sanscrit and sakrit), as the Zend we harkeret, "once" (Sanscrit and sakrit), as the Zend we harkeret, "once" (Sanscrit and sakrit), as the Zend we harkeret, "once" (Sanscrit and sakrit), as the Zend we harkeret, "once" (Sanscrit and sakrit), as the Zend we harkeret.

stands, without exception, for the Sanscrit & s, to which the h in Gothic never corresponds.* J. Grimm compares haihs with cacus (II. 316), not with the purpose of following out the origin of these cognate words, but in order to prove the transition of the tenuis into the aspirate; for the simple aspiration stands in Gothic instead of kh, which is wanting. These words are, however, so far connected, that, in both, the word eye is contained. It is only the question whether the one-eyed in Latin has also lost the other eye, and if the blind (cæcus), in regard to etymology, has not preserved one eye left. This appears to me more probable than that the blind in Gothic should recover his sight, though but with one eye. The theme of haihs is HAIHA: one may, then, divide HAIHA into HA-IHA or into H-AIHA; thus the latter portion of this compound word is assuredly connected with the word wa aksha, "eye," in Sanscrit, which only occurs at the end of words; so that of the compounded was ksh only the first portion is left, while the Zend sugar ashi, "eye"—which I, in like manner, have found only at the end of compound words, as, factument covas-ashim, "the six-eyed" has preserved the last element: the Latin ocus, however (the root of oculus), preserves only the first like the Gothic. If in HAIHA the diphthong ai is left entirely to the share of the eye, we must assume that the a is introduced through the euphonic influence of the h (§. 82.), and that AIHA stands for IHA, and this for AHA; as fimf from was pancha; fidvor But if the a of HAIHA is allotted to from Tail chatvar. the numeral, which appears to me more correct, then the h in this word has not introduced any euphonic a, because, with the aid of the first member of the compound, the

^{*} Connected, however, with this designation of "one," which is taken from the pronominal base sa (Greek δ), may be the Greek å in å-πλοῦς.

disposition of the h to ai was already satisfied. We must further draw remembrance to the Latin cocles, in which, however, the notion of unity is evidently represented only by the c, for the o must be left to the ocles as a derivation from oculus: cæcus, however, if æ is the correct way of writing, and if the number one is contained therein, would spring from ca-icus; and the Indian a, therefore, is weakened, as in Gothic, to i, which, in Latin compounds, is the usual representative of an a of the base (§. 6.). Let us now examine the one-handed. Its theme is, in Gothic, HAUFA, nominative abbreviated haufs; so that here, as in a skein, two bases and a pronominal remnant, as mark of case, lie together. The numeral is here the most palpable element: it is more difficult to search out the hand. isolated state no theme nfa could be expected; but in contractions, and also in prefixed syllables of reduplication, a vowel of the base is often rejected; as, in the Sanscrit जिनम jagmima, "we went," of the base गम् gam, only gm is left; and in the Greek, πίπτω for πιπέτω, ΠΕΤ, which corresponds to the Sanscrit un pat, "to fall," is abbreviated to $\pi\tau$. We shall, therefore, be compelled to assume that a vowel has fallen out between the n and f of HA-NFA. If it was an iwhich was displaced, then NIFA might pass as a transposition of the Sanscrit unfur pani, "hand," with f for p, according to §. 87. In HA-LTA, "lame"—nominative halts—must ha again pass for a numeral and ha-lta may originally signify "one-footed," for it is (Mark ix. 45.) opposed to the Gothic tvans fôtuns habandin, "having two feet," where it is said 'it is better for thee to enter into life with one foot, than having two feet to be cast into hell.' It is at least certain, that a language which had a word for one-footed would very fitly have applied it in this passage. The last element, however, in HA-LTA means the foot, so we must remember that, in Sanscrit, several appellations of this member are derived from bases which mean "to go." Now, there is, in

Gothic, a base LITH, "to go," with an aspirated t, indeed; but in contractions the consonants do not always remain on the same grade which they adopt in the simple word; e.g. the t of quatuor appears as d in many derivations and contractions, without this d thereby dissembling its original identity with the t of quatuor and The chatur. then, HA-LTA may stand for HA-LITHA; and it may be remarked, that from the base LIT comes, also, lithus, "the limb," as that which is moveable. Before I pass on to the explanation of halb, I must mention that J. Grimm divides the pronoun selber, as it appears to me very properly, into two parts; so that the syllable si of the Gothic silba devolves on the reciprocal (sci-na, si-s, si-k). With respect to the last portion, he betakes himself to a verb leiban, "to remain," and believes that silba may, perhaps, have the meaning of "that which remains in itself, enduring." Be this as it may, it is clear that halbs —the theme is HALBA—might be, with equal right, divided into two parts; and it appears to me, that, according to its origin, this word can have no better meaning than, perhaps, "containing a part"; so that the ideas one and a part, remnant, or something similar, may be therein expressed, and, according to the principle of the Sanscrit possessive compounds, the notion of the possessor must be supplied, as in the already explained haihs, "having one eye." In the Gothic, also, laiba means "remnant." It scarcely needs remark, that halb is no original and simple idea, for which a peculiar simple word might be expected, framed to express it. The half is one part of the whole, and, in fact, equal to the absent part. dimidius is named after the mean through which the division The Zend has the expression was naema, for halb, went. according to a euphonic law for nêma, which in Sanscrit, among other meanings, signifies "part": this is probably the secondary meaning, and the half, as part of the whole,

the original. If it is so, नेम nêma appears to me a very ingenious designation for a half, for it is a regular contraction of \(\bar{n} a, "\text{not," and \(\bar{x} = ima, "\text{this or that"}; \) and the demonstrative therefore points at the "this or that" portion In Sanscrit, of the whole excluded by the negative na. halb is termed, among other appellations, सामि sâmi, in which one recognises both the Latin semi and the Greek $\eta\mu$; and the three languages agree in this also, that they use this word only without inflection at the beginning of compounds. As to its origin, सामि sâmi may be viewed as a regular derivation from un sama, "equal," "similar," by a suffix i, by which the suppression of the final vowel, and widening of the initial vowel of the primitive, become necessary. If this explanation is well founded, then in this designation of halb only one part of the whole, and, indeed, one equal to the deficient part, would be expressed, and the सामि sami would be placed as हैं терог over against the deficient erepov; and the Sanscrit and German supply each other's deficiencies, so that the former expresses the equality, the latter the unity, of the part; i.e. each of the two languages only half expresses the half. As to the relation, however, of the Greek ημισυς to ημι, it follows from what has been already said—that the latter is not an abbreviation of the former, but the former is a derivation from the latter; and indeed I recognise in ou the Sanscrit possessive sva, "suus," which, remarkably enough, in Zend enters into combinations with numerals with the meaning "part"; e.g. ν»κυλ thri-shva, "a third part," ν»κυλων chathru-shva, "a fourth part." In the accusative these words, according to §. 42., are written for thri-shu-m, קאבא chathru-shûm, of which the last member comes very near to the Greek συν of ημισυν. Ήμι-συς means, therefore, "having one equal part," and the simple ήμι means only the equal. The Sanscrit designation of "the whole " deserves further to be mentioned, सक्ट्स sa-kala-s,

which, as that which enters into the parts and unites them, is opposed to the German halb as applying to one part, and in a measure furnishes a commentary and guarantee for the correctness of my view of the latter. The word was sakala consists, though this is scarcely perceptible, of asa, "with," and कहा kalâ, "part," so that, if the latter is regarded in the dual relation—and the last member of a compound may express each of the three numbers—ass sakala expresses that in which the two parts are together. Thus the word समय sam-agra, "full," is used especially in regard to the moon, as a body with points, i.e. that in which the two Transposed into Greek relations of sound points rest. sakala-s would give, perhaps, όκαλος, or όκελος, or όκολος; but from this the present δλος has rejected the middle syllable, as is the case in κόρος, κοῦρος, compared with στική kumāra-s, "a boy."

309. II. The theme of the declension is, in Sanscrit, dva, which is naturally inflected with dual terminations: the Gothic gives for it tva, according to §. 87., and inflects it, in the want of a dual, as plural, but after the manner of pronouns: nominative tvai, tvas, tva; dative tvaim; accusative tvans, thvos, tva.* The Sanscrit displays in the dual

have

^{*} One would expect $tv\delta$, on account of the form being monosyllabic (§. 231.). In the genitive masculine and neuter I should look for $tvi-x\ell$, after the analogy of $thi-x\ell$, "horum," from THA, or $tvaix\ell$, according to the analogy of the definite adjectives (§. 287.), and according to the common declension $tv'-\ell$ (p. 276). Now, however, the form $tvaddy\ell$ occurs three times in the sense of duorum; whence it is clear that the genitive of the base TVA was no longer in use in the time of Ulfila. The form $tvaddy'-\ell$ belongs to a theme TVADDYA (as $hary'\ell$ from HARYA), and appears, from the ordinal number, which in Sanscrit is dvi-tiya for dva-tiya, to have introduced itself into the cardinal number. From tvaddye, by rejecting both the d—of which one is, besides, superfluous—and by changing the y into a vowel, we arrive at the Old High German $xuei\delta$, according to Isid. $xueiy\delta$, as for from fidvor; also definite, $xuei\ell r\delta$, which, in Gothic, would be $tvaddyaix\ell$. Grimm appears, on the other hand, to

no difference between the pronominal declension and the ordinary one, and dvau is declined like vrikau (p. 274), dvé feminine like dháré (p. 285), and dvé neuter like dáné (p. 276). As, however, the notions of number are much akin to those of the pronouns; and as we alpa, "a little," forms, in the nominative plural masculine, चर्च alpé (§. 228.); so from the masculine theme doa, if it had a plural, might be expected dvé, to which, according to §. 78., the Gothic tvai would correspond, which it is not requisite to regard like adjectives terminating similarly, as if compounded with a definite pronoun, principally because a genitive tvaizé, which would make the latter view necessary, does not occur. To tvai corresponds, also, bai, "both," from the theme BA, neuter ba, dative baim, accusative and masculine bans, which is to be deduced through aphæresis from the Sanscrit base ubha, Old Sclavonic oba (nominative and accusative dual), from the base OBO. In Zend the masculine of the number two is was dva (for dva, §. 208.), with which the Old Sclavonic dva is identical, while the feminine neuter dvye answers to the Sanscrit dve (§. 255. e.). The Zend neuter is duyé, with euphonic y (§. 43.), and the vresolved into u. In the Greek and Latin δύω, δύο, duo, the

have taken occasion, from the Old High German forms, to suppose a Gothic tvaiyê and tvaiaizê, in which I cannot agree with him. The Old Northern, by exchanging the dental medials with gutturals, gives tvaggya for the Gothic tvaddyê. In the accusative plural feminine is found, in Gothic, together with tvôs also tveihnôs, which presupposes a masculine and neuter base TVEIHNA, fem. TVEIHNO; and in which the entrance of the HNA reminds us of the appended pronoun sma, discussed at §. 165. &c., which, by metathesis, and with the alteration of the s into h, has in Prakrit and Pali taken the form mha (comp. §. 169.). On this Gothic TVEIHNA are based the Old High German nominative and accusative masculine zuênê with loss of the h. The feminine, however, appears in Old High German free from this addition, and is in the nominative and accusative zuô, also abbreviated zua (comp. §. 69.).

old v is, in the same way, resolved into the u, but the final vowel of the base is not abandoned: δύω answers to the Veda masculine dva (§. 208.); but in distinguishing the genders the Greek is surpassed by the Latin and the other European sister languages. The Lithuanian has du in the nominative masculine, and dwi in the nominative feminine; with the closer explanation of which, and their dual declension, we will not here occupy ourselves further. It is, however, to be remarked of the Sanscrit numeral, that the a of dva is, in the beginning of compounds, weakened to i (compare §. 6.): hence dvi, which is represented by the native grammarians as the proper theme (comp. p. 102). The Greek, in which δF_i is inadmissible, gives in its stead δi ; hence $\delta i \mu \eta \tau \omega \rho = \mathbf{fg} \eta i \eta dv i m \delta t r i$ (theme), "having two mothers." The Zend and Latin agree in the corruption of this dvi very remarkably, in this point, that they have both dropped the d and have both hardened the v to b; hence significance bipailistana, "with two nipples," as biceps, bidens, and others. From this abbreviated bi comes, in both languages, also the adverb bis, "twice," corresponding to the Sanscrit dvis and Greek δίς: the Greek δι, however, in compounds, cannot be regarded as an abbreviation of $\delta i\varsigma$, as is wont to be done. The German dialects, with exception of the Old High German, require, according to §. 87., tvi for dvi, as the initial member of compounds: this is furnished by the Anglo-Saxon in compound words like tvi-fëte, "bipes," tvi-finger, "duos digitos longus," tvi-hive, "bicolor." The Old High German gives zui (= zwi) or qui; e.g. zui-beine, "bipes," qui-falt, "duplex" (Grimm III. 956.). The adverb zuiro, more fully zuiror, also quiro, "twice," belongs, according to its formation, but not without the intervention of another word, to the above dvis, dis, bis; but it is clear, from the Old Northern tris-var, that ro has arisen from sva by apocope of the a and vocalization of the v, perhaps more anciently to u, and thence to o (§. 77.), as in deo (also diu), "a servant," genitive dive-s, from the base DIWA. Whence comes, however, the Old Northern svar, which occurs in thrisvar, "thrice," and with which the English ce in twice, thrice, is connected. I believe that the s, which precedes the var, is certainly identical with the s of fixed dvis, "δίς," and fax tris, "τρίς," but the annexed var corresponds to the Sanscrit substantive vara, which signifies period and time; hence êkavâra, "once" (see Haughton), and varamvaram, "repeatedly." Hence comes the Persian bar, e.g. bar-i, "once"; and as the original meaning of this word is "time," and we have already seen, in Persian, the transition of the v into b, we may hence very satisfactorily explain the Latin ber in the names of months; and Septem-ber, therefore, is literally the seven-time, i.e. the seventh-time segment of the year. But to return to the Old Northern svar, in trisvar, thrisvar, which we must now divide into tris-var, thris-var, according to the explanation which has been given, the idea of time is expressed therein twice, which is not surprising, as in the Old High German mériro, also mentioned above, the comparative suffix is twice contained, because the first time, from the genius of the language, it is no longer felt with sufficient clearness. As then, in Old High German, first the r, and more lately also the o (from v), of s-var has been dropped, we see, in the Middle High German drir from dris, the form again returned into the original limits of the Sanscrit-Greek tris.

310. III. The theme is, in the Sanscrit, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, and Old Sclavonic, TRI, whence in the Gothic, according to §. 87., THRI, and in Zend, according to another law of sound (§. 47.), exactly the same. The declension of this base is, in most of the languages mentioned, perfectly regular: it is only to be remarked of the Gothic, in which, however, all the cases cannot be

adduced, that on account of the word being monosyllabic, the i is not suppressed before vowel terminations, but becomes iy (compare the Pali, §. 266.): hence the genitive thriy-e, and nominative neuter thriy-a (§. 233.). Besides these, the dative thri-m and the accusative thri-ns may be The Sanscrit forms the genitive from an extended theme traya,* hence traya-n-am; while the Zend thry-anm or thray-aim comes from the original base. Both languages, however, agree in this, that for tri, so thri, is only a theme of the masculine and neuter; and although, according to its termination, it might quite as well be assigned to the feminine, nevertheless the feminine number has an appellation peculiar to it, which is rather different from tri, thri, of which the theme is tisar (fre tisri, §. 1.), the a of which, in the Sanscrit nominative, accusative, and vocative, is regularly suppressed; hence तिसस tisras for tisaras, Zend क्रिया tisarb.

chatasri), follows the analogy of the tisar just mentioned; and the similarity between the two forms is so great that it appears, which is perhaps the fact, that the number three is contained in the fourth numeral; so that tisr-as would be a weakened form of tasr-as, and the cha prefixed to the number four would be identical with the particle, which means "and," and which, in other places, is attached to the end of the word. If one wished to press still farther into the deep mystery of the appellations of numbers, one might moot the question whether

^{*} With this extended theme one may compare the Old High German nominative masculine $dri\ell$ in Isidor, which belongs to a theme DRIA, with pronominal declension. The feminine $dri\delta$, from the base $DRI\bar{O}$, of the same sound, presupposes in like manner a masculine and neuter theme DRIA.

[†] In the accusative, tisras is more organic than fate tisris, as it must stand according to the common rule (comp. §. 242.).

the syllables tasa in the theme cha-ta-sar, might not be considered as identical with the demonstrative bases of the same sound. I do not think, at least, that any language whatever has produced special original words for the particular designation of such compacted and peculiar ideas as three, four, five, &c.; and as the appellations of numbers resist all comparison with the verbal bases,* the pronominal bases remain the only means by which to explain them. Without attempting to resolve the difficulties in the individual numbers, we will express the conjecture, that the operation of speech with regard to the numbers might originally be expounded nearly in this manner—that one might perhaps say, "it, this, that, and it, and this," &c.: thus the pronouns might actually suffice better than they appear to do in the forms of numerals which lie before us. But an obscuration of the original clearness of this method, which would occur in the course of time, would be owing also to this, that a simple or compound word might undertake immediately to designate this or that number, and no other one, though equally adapted to denote it.

312. The masculine and neuter of the number four have, in Sanscrit, which chatvar as the strong theme, and which chatur as the weak*; hence, nom. masc. chatvar-as, accus. chatur-as, nom. accus. voc. neut. chatvar-i the gen. masc. and neut. is irregularly chatur-n-am for chatur-am, since, according to the analogy of bases terminating with a vowel, a nasal

^{*} Only in three might one perhaps think of the Sanscrit base ntri, "to pass over," and consider three, therefore, as the more (than two). This verbal notion of passing over, adding, is, however, also the only possible one which could be blended with the names of numbers.

[†] To §. 129. is further to be added, that from the strong theme springs also the form of the nom., acc., and voc. plural of the neuter; while this kind forms the whole singular and dual from the weak theme.

is introduced (§. 246.). In the Zend the strong theme is Two Gun chathwar, according to §. 47.; hence, nom. masc. לאשט chathmara; and the weak theme is, by transposition, אמאלור, as, chathru-māhîm, "four months" (accus. sing.), Vend. S. p. 248. For the Sanscrit genitive ৰনুবাদ chaturnam, we find হ্লেন্ড্র্যাস chathrusnamm (l. c. pp. 204 and 206, with a inserted, בשענאל chathrusanaim); but in the beginning of compound words it is more frequently found plus chathware; so that the weakening consists merely in the shortening of the d, and, according to \S . 44., an \check{e} is added to the r; as chathwar \check{e} paitistanyão, " of her with four teats" (gen. fem.), Vend. S. As to the European sister languages, one must expect, according to §. 14., for ch, gutturals and labials, hence, in Gothic fidvôr, and aspirates for smooth letters, according to §. 87. This fidvor rests on the strong theme Tang chatvar, but in the state of declension extends the theme by an unorganic i, hence dative fidvôri-m, the only adduceable case. In Old Northern the nom. masc. is fiôri-r. The original theme fidvôr appears in the compound fidvor-tiguns, "forty" (accus.): on the other hand, fider in fidur-dôgs, "four days," is referable to the Indian weak theme chatur; whence, however, it should not be said that the weak theme of the German, Lithuanian, and Sclavonic has been brought from an Asiatic original site; for it was as easy for the Gothic, by suppressing the last vowel but one, to contract its fidvor to fidur—like thiu-s, "servant," from thiva-s, gen. thivi-s—as for the Sanscrit to abbreviate chatuar to chatur. The Lithuanian theme follows the example of abbreviation in its interior, but extends the theme at the end; the masc. nom. is keturi, and the feminine keturios: $KETURI\overline{A}$ serves the latter as theme: the masculine keturi is analogous with geri, "the good" (see p. 251. Rem. †), and therefore has KETURIE, euphonic for KETURIA, as its base. The genitive and accusative masculine keturi-û, keturi-s, proceed from the base KETURI. The Old Sclavonic gives CHETYRI as the masculine and feminine theme, and inflects the masculine like GOSTI, and the feminine like KOSTI (p. 349); hence nom. chetyry-e, chetyri, just as in the third numeral triy-e, "tri"; and the feminine form may, in both, represent also the masculine, and always supplies the neuter. But the collective chetvero, and the ordinal number chetverty-i, stand in closer agreement with the Indian strong theme जनार chatvar: the Latin quatuor, also, which, in disadvantageous comparison with the kindred languages, has lost the capability of declension, and the Greek τέσσαρ-ες, τέτταρ-ες, rest on the strong **પતા** chatvaras; so that τέτταρες, just like the Pali form प्रारो chattaro, has gained its last t by assimilation of the semi-vowel. The Prakrit form, also, which I am not able to quote, will scarcely be other than chattars (comp. §. 300). With regard to the inital τ let reference be made to \S . 14., by which this τ is accommodated with the Æolic πίσυρες, which refers itself to the weak theme της chatur. With the Zend transposition of the weak theme to chathru (p. 439.), at the beginning of compounds, agrees surprisingly the Latin quadru, in quadrupes and other The adverbial s, by which fact dois, "twice," and words. ियस tris, Zend thris, "thrice," are formed, is, in the Sanscrit chatur, suppressed by the rule of sound mentioned in §. 94.; hence chatur, "four times," for chaturs. the latter has originally existed one learns from the Zend transposed form אמט chathrus. The Latin has already, in the number three, without being forced by a compulsory law, dropped the s, and hence ter and quater appear only as internal modifications of the cardinal numbers.

313. V. Sanscrit पद्मन् panchan, Zend μυμμου panchan, Lithuanian penki,* Greek πέντε, Æolic πέμπε, Gothic

^{*} This is the nominative masculine: the feminine is penkios, and holds the

fimf,* Latin quinque, Old Sclavonic pyaty.† The Sanscrit-Zend panchan is the theme, and the genders are not distinguished in this and the following numbers; hence the nominative, accusative, and vocative have always singular neuter forms (therefore pancha, according to §. 139.): the other cases shew plural terminations; as, genitive पदानान् panchanam, Zend fyzyyyw panchananm (Vend. S. p. 52). By this irregularity in the declension the Sanscrit and Zend prepare us in a measure for complete want of inflection in Greek and Latin. Moreover, it is remarkable that not one of the European languages will at all recognise the final nasal, while, nevertheless, that of saplan, navan, and dasan is found also in Gothic and Lithuanian; and in Lithuanian, also, that of चहन ashtan, "eight" (asztűni). The Greek has frequently preserved an old a

the same relation to it that keturios does to keturi (p. 428). The same obtains with the appellations of the numbers 6, 7, 8, 9, of which we give only the masculine.

^{*} Occurs only uninflected: in the declined theme, the unorganic addition of an i must be expected, as in FIDVORI; and is also actually the case in Old High German in this number, and the appellations for six to ten inclusive. In Gothic, however, occur also saihs, "six," sibun, "seven," ahtau, "eight," and taihun, "ten," only uninflected, and therefore without the unorganic i; but from niun, "nine," comes the genitive niun-l, which indeed might also have proceeded from a theme NIUN or NIUNA, but which I doubt not comes from NIUNI.

[†] The theme is PYATI, and is inflected like KOSTI (p. 348), and with singular terminations; so that one has to look upon this numeral as a feminine collective, beside which the object numbered stands in apposition in like cases. The same obtains with the appellations for the numbers 6 to 10 inclusive. As to the formal relation of PYATI to panchan, we must observe, that of the latter, in Sclavonic, only the syllable pa is represented by pya (§. 255. n.); but TI is a derivational suffix, as in SHESTI, "six," DEVYATI, "nine," and DESYATI, "ten," and corresponds to the Sanscrit suffix ti in the multiplied numbers vinsati, "twenty," shashti, "sixty," &c.

before a nasal originally there, while it has preferred weakening the same to ϵ before other consonants; hence ἔτυψα(μ , ν), ἔτυψαν, but ἔτυψε(τ); τέτυφα(μ) but τέτυφε(τ ι); and so έπτα, ἐννέα, δέκα: not πέντα, however, but πέντε. It might therefore well be assumed, that the nasal in Indo-Zend numerals is a later addition, but that cha is the particle signifying "and," which, in the number four, we have taken for the prefix (§. 311.). In Latin, also, quinque is, in regard to its termination, similar to words connected with the particle que, as in $\pi \acute{e}\nu \tau e$ the enclitic τe , which is akin to que and cha (see §. 14.) appears to be contained. being the case, I would prefer regarding pan in wa pancha as euphonic for pam, and the m as a neuter case-sign; but the pa which remains over as a pronoun, and indeed as identical with the ka which occurs in the number one (§. 308.), in regard to which one might advert to the old Latin pidpid for quidquid, noîos for koîos, &c. Five would, therefore, literally mean "and one," and in fact that one which is to be added to the four.*

314. VI. Sanscrit **TQ** shash, Zend ADD CSVas, Lithuanian szeszi, Old Sclavonic shesty (theme SHESHTI, p. 430, Rem. †), Gothic saihs (see §. 82.), Latin sex, Greek ex. One may justly suppose that the guttural which begins the Zend word has also existed in Sanscrit, for instance, **EQ**

^{*} Ag. Benary, who likewise recognises in pancha the particle "and," seeks to compare the preceding syllable with pāni, "hand" (Berl. Jahrb. 1833. II. p. 49). If, however, a connection exists between the appellations of the hand and five, the former word might be named from the number of the fingers; as one might also venture an attempt to explain digitus and dárrulos with the number "ten," and our "finger," Gothic figgrs (= fingrs), theme FIGGRA, with fünf (fimf); so that in this word no transition of the guttural organ into the labial has taken place. I do not think it probable that finger is named from fangen, "to seize"; also, as far as regards the Greek and Latin, the appellation of each single finger is more likely to be derived from the total number than from pointing (deikvupi).

kshash, for sh is otherwise not an initial syllable in Sanscrit, and also no original sound, but that sibilant which is only admissible with a preceding k (§. 21.). In Latin, Greek, and German the guttural appears to be transposed, for sex is the transposition of xes.

315. VII. Sanscrit and saptan, Zend paperas, haptan, nominative and accusative and sapta, appears hapta (see §. 313.), Greek enta, Latin septem, Lithuanian septyni, Old Sclavonic sedmy (theme SEDMI). The m of septem and sedmy seems to me to have been introduced from the ordinal number, which is, in Sanscrit, saptama, nom. masc. saptama-s, and in Sclavonic sedmyi. The same holds good of the termination of osmy, "eight," and the Latin novem, decem, Sanscrit navama-s, "the ninth," daśama-s, "the tenth"; for it is not probable that the n of the Sanscrit cardinal number has become m in the abovementioned languages, as m is very frequently corrupted to n, especially at the end of words, where, in Greek, this transition is necessary; while the reverse method of the n to m scarcely occurs anywhere.

316. VIII. Sanscrit जहन् ashtan or जहा ashtau; from the former the nominative and accusative ashta, from the latter again ashtau; Zend שנים astan, nominative שנים asta, Lithuanian asztůni, Gothic ahtau, Greek ὄκτω, Latin osto, Old Sclavonic osmy (theme OSMI). The Sanscrit ashtau and the analogous ὄκτω appear, as it were, in a dual dress (see §. 206.); nevertheless, ashtau is, in my opinion, just as much as ashtan, a bare theme, and has perhaps proceeded from the latter form, which occurs only in Zend by the resolution of the n to u, which is so common (comp. p. 415, Rem.), and the lengthening of the a; if it is not preferred to develope it from ashias, according to the analogy of From ashtau comes, by suppression of the last element of the diphthong, ashta-bhis, ashta-bhyas, ashta-su, as ra-bhis, &c., from rai, "thing," "riches," while ashtan, in the cases mentioned, forms regularly ashtabhis, ashtabhyas, ashidsu (comp. p. 304). The genitive has only one form, namely, were ashidam. The strength of the du of ashidu is preserved, also, in the kindred languages, and indeed in the Latin octav-us, Greek ὄγδοος for ὄγδοΓ-ος, and in German forms as ahtome-n, dative, according to Notker the cardinal number from ahtomi-m, from the theme AHTOWI. But if ashidu were connected in its base with the former form as the dual, expressing four twice, and for assuming, with the theme, an unorganic corruption of a dual termination, which made its appearance in the earliest antiquity.

317. IX. Sanscrit नवन navan, Zend אאין navan (nominative and accusative nava), Gothic niun—by contracting the va to u and weakening the a to i, as is so common, §. 66.—Latin novem (see §. 315.), Greek ἐννέα, Lithuanian dewyni, Old Sclavonic devyaty (theme DEVYATI). The last two appellations appear foreign to the system of the other sister languages: they are based, however, as I have already remarked in another place,* on the facile interchange of a nasal with the medial congruent with the organ, on which, among others, rests the relation between βροτός and मृतस् mritas, "mortu-us." As regards the origin of this numeral term, there exists a close connection in respect of form with the expression for "new" (Sanscrit nava). That, however, a relation of ideas actually exists between the two designations, as Ag. Benary first acutely conjectured (Berl. Jahrb. 1832. ii. p. 50), appears to me just as probable; for without recognising a dual in ashtau, and without excluding the thumbs in reckoning by the fingers, the number nine can still only be thought of with reference to the earlier numbers, and as next to eight; and

^{*} Historical and Philological Transactions of the Academy of Letters for the year 1833, p. 168.

nine, in contrast with eight or all the preceding numbers, is just as much a new number, as that which is new itself is always a something later and successive, a this corresponding to the old that. As a case in point, observe the Latin secundus from sequor. One must also admit that it would not be surprising if any former number whatever, excluding one, were named after the idea of that which is new, and that this origin is most intimately connected with the pronominal origin of other numerals.

318. X. Sanscrit באופעגן dašan (nominative and accusative daša), Greek δέκα, Latin decem, Lithuanian deszimt, deszimt'-s and deszimtis (the two first indeclinable), Old Sclavonic desysty (theme DESYATI, see §. 313. Rem.), Gothic taihun. Concerning the ai and u of taihun, see §§. 66. and 82.: the consonants have obeyed the law of removal (§. 87.). The Greek, rather than the Sanscrit, therefore serves as prototype to the Gothic in regard to the second consonant; and we have laid down in §. 21. the Sanscrit $\forall s$ as a proportionably modern sound. If, then, in this corruption, the Lithuanian and Sclavonic agree with the Sanscrit, this may be so explained, that these languages, guided independently by the Sanscrit and Zend, but with the same euphonic feeling, have transformed an old guttural to a sibilant; in which change of sound, however, the Sclavonic, in other cases, goes farther than the Sanscrit (comp. p. 402). If, however, we desire to base on historical tradition the peculiar coincidence with the Sanscrit and Zend in the case before us, and some others, we must arrive at this through the assumption that the Lithuanian and Sclavonic races at some period wandered from their original settlement in Asia, when corruptions

^{*} But not universally, where, in Sanscrit, $\mathfrak{F} \in \mathbb{R}$ is found; for asman, "a stone," nom. asmā, is, in Lithuanian, AKMEN, nom. akmū (§. 139.), and in Old Sclavonic KAMEN, nom. kamy.

had already entered into the language, which did not exist at the time when the Greeks and Romans transplanted the Asiatic original language to Europe.

"Remark.—Before the simple daśan (from dakan) had been changed in the Gothic into taihun, according to the

^{*} These may be deduced from the ordinals aevandasa, dvadasa (Vend. So also chathrudasan, "fourteen," panchadasan, "fifteen," from chathrudasa, "the fourteenth," panchadasa, "the fifteenth." The nasal in accumulate appears to have proceeded from m, and to be an accusative sign, for the whole stands l. c. in the accusative (aevandasem). By this, doubt is thrown on the aevandasan given above, and perhaps aevodasan, or, according to the original principle of the compound, aevadasan might be expected. In one other passage, indeed, occurs the nominative of the ordinal aévandasó (l. c. p. 230): it is, however, clearly a false reading, and the sense requires the accusative, as governed by Joseph Joseph fråsnabiti, which Anquetil renders by a atteint; thus, קענעפענע שניין געלינסע devandasem frāsnabiti, "he touches the tenth"; and in the following analogous constructions the ordinal number also stands always in the accusative. The form aevandaiem, from aevandaiem, is remarkable, also, in a phonetic respect, because elsewhere in Zend a final m is not governed by the organ of the following letter.

[†] I do not take the tva here, with Grimm (II. 947.), for the neuter, but, according to the principle of genuine compounds, for the theme (compare §. 112.), whence the nom. masc. tvai. Tva may also—and this appears to me more correct—be regarded, without the Gothic being conscious of the formation, precisely as the abbreviation of the Sanscrit dva, which is a lengthening of the theme dva, as ékâ from éka.

comparatively recent law for the alteration of sounds (compare §. 82.), it may have happened that, through the very widely-diffused disposition for exchanging the d with l, and through the not less common commutation between gutturals and labials—through which, among others, the relation of fidvor to the Lithuanian keturi and Latin quatuor becomes explicable—the daśan contained in eka-daśan, "eleven," and dva-dasan, "twelve" (from dakan), may have passed, in Gothic, into LIBI. Through the dative tva-libi-m, genitive tva-lib'-é, LIBI is preserved, in fact, as the true theme; so that each a of dasan is weakened to i. The f of the uninflected tvalif is, therefore, not to be explained according to §. 87., but according to §. 93.; and if the theme libi has not obeyed the law for the mutation of sounds, the objection, which has been raised by Graff (Old High German Thesaurus, p. 317) against my explanation, is removed by what has been remarked in §. 89., for we refer to fidvor, not fithvor. The Latin quadraginta, also, for quatraginta, and the Greek σγδοος for όκτοος, έβδομος for έπτομος, and several others, may be noticed, in support of the proposition that the numeral formations in the choice of the degree of the organ of the consonants have not always remained in the customary path; and in cumbrous compounds the medials are more admissible than the smooth letters and aspirates.* To remove the objection which may be taken on the ground that LIBI is so very different from the form of taihun, we may remark, that, in French

^{*} The Anglo-Saxon endleofan, endlufan, compared with tvelf, and the Old Friesian andlova with twilif, should not make us doubt, since the Anglo-Saxon eo corresponds to the Sanscrit a of dasan and Gothic i of lif, as in the relation of seofon (Old Friesian singon) to the Sanscrit saptan, Gothic sibun. Let, then, the Old Friesian o of lova be regarded like that of singon. To the Sanscrit chatvar, Gothic fidvor, correspond the Anglo-Saxon feover, Old Friesian fluwer.

also, the number ten, in compounds like on-ze, dou-ze, trei-ze, is so remote from the expression of the simple ten, that one would hardly venture to pronounce the syllable ze to be akin, or originally identical with dix, if it were not historically certain that onze, douze, &c., have arisen from undecim, duodecim, and that therefore ze is a corruption of decim, as dix is a less vitiated form of decem. If, then, onze, douze, &c., have been simplified through the great alteration of the expression for the number ten contained in them, the same holds good with regard to our eilf and zwölf, in which, perhaps, as in onze and douze, a connection with ein and zwei may be recognised, but none with zehn; and in the English eleven, also, the relation to one is entirely obliterated. But with regard to our using for thirteen, fourteen, &c., not dreilf, vierlf, or similar forms in lf, but dreizehn, vierzehn, &c., in which zehn is just as unaltered as the drei and vier, this arises from the Germans having forgotten the old Indo-European compounds for these numbers, and then having compacted the necessary expressions anew from the elements as they exist uncompounded. Nay, even the Greek has reconstructed afresh, as well as it could, its numerals from thirteen upwards, after that the old more genuine compounds had fallen into disuse; but this has been done, I must say, in a clumsy, awkward fashion, by which the addition of a particle signifying and was found requisite in an attempt at extreme perspicuity, while ενδεκα, δώδεκα, move more freely, and are suited to the spirit of the ancient compounds. The literal meaning, too, of τρισκαίδεκα (for τρίδεκα) is "thrice and ten," and the numeral adverb τρίς, instead of the bare theme $\tau \rho \iota$, is here just as much a mistake as the masculine plural nominative serves as a reproach to the τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα, and is inferior in purity to the Sanscrit chatur-daśan, not chatvaras-daśan (chatvaro-daśan). other hand, the Sanscrit, in the designation of the number

thirteen, commits a similar error, and awkwardly gives instead of tri-dasan, trayo-dasan—euphonic for trayas-dasan where the masculine plural nominative instead of the theme, which is adapted for all genders, is not well selected. The Latin tre-decim is therefore a more pure formation, as it dispenses with a case-sign in the first member of the compound: just so the Lithuanian try-lika, not trys-lika. This lika, which concludes the form, in all Lithuanian adding numerals (eleven to nineteen), exchanges the old d for l, as in German, and is therefore as far estranged from the simple deszimt's as the Gothic libi from taihun; partly, as the second consonant in lika has maintained itself in its oldest form received from the Greek, and has not become a sibilant; so that like and $\delta \epsilon \kappa \alpha$ resemble each other very closely. The Lithuanian lika, therefore, is derived, like the Gothic libi and the French ze in onze, douze, &c., from the old compound which has been handed down, and cannot, therefore, be censured for its want of agreement with the simple number ten: it is no longer conscious of its meaning, and, like an inanimate corpse, is carried by the living inferior number. As, however, the smaller number in these compounds is still living, so that in the feeling of the speaker the numbers wieno-lika, dwy-lika, &c., do not appear as independent simple designations of numbers—as, perhaps, septyni is felt to be independent of each of the earlier numbers—so, naturally, in these compounds the first member has kept tolerably equal pace with the form which it shews in its isolated state; on which account wienolika, if it is regarded as an ancient compound from the time of the unity of language, or perhaps as derived from रकादशन् êkâ-daśan, has nevertheless undergone, in its initial member, a renovation; as also in Gothic ainlif, in Greek ενδεκα, in Latin undecim, have regulated their first member according to the form which is in force for the isolated number one. On the other hand, δώδεκα is almost entirely the Sanscrit dva-duśa (ω

for d, according to §. 4.), and is as similar to it as possible, as ν (F) in Greek cannot be pronounced after consonants, and in the first syllable, also, could not assimilate itself to the preceding consonant (compare τέτταρες from τέτΓαρες), for δδώδεκα could not be uttered. In Latin, duodecim has formed its first member exactly after the simple form: on the other hand, the French has paid no regard to the form in which the preceding number appears in its isolated state, but has left the composition entirely in the old form, only with the abbreviations which time has by degrees introduced. With reference to the isolated state of the smaller number, it would have been, perhaps, necessary in French to have said unze, deuze, troize, &c. After what has been stated, I think no one can any longer doubt, that in our eilf (elf) and zwölf. strange as it at the first glance may appear, a word is contained expressing the number ten, and identical in its origin with dasan, δέκα, and zehn. If, however, the older LIBI, lif, and Lithuanian lika, be regarded without the suspicion arising, that in them corrupt though very common permutations of sound may have preceded, then one would propose in Lithuanian a base lik, and in Gothic lif or lib (Gothic af-lifnan, "relinqui, superesse," laibos, "reliquiæ"), which both signify to remain, and are also connected with each other and with the Greek $\lambda \epsilon i \pi \omega$ (AIII). Grimm, who has recognised (II. 946) the original identity of our lif and the Lithuanian lika, has perhaps allowed himself to be led astray by Ruhig in the meaning of these expressions, and deduces the latter from likti, "linqui, remanere," the former from leiban, "manere." Ruhig, according to Mielcke, p. 58, holds lika for the 3d person plural, since he says, "Composition in the cardinal numbers from ten to twenty takes place by adding the 3d person plural number present indicative lika (from likù s. liekmi); scil., the tenth remains undisturbed with the simple number, e.g. one, two, &c.; which addition, however, in composition degenerates into a declinable noun of

the feminine gender, according to which, also, the preceding simple number must be regulated."* The languages, however, do not proceed so pedantically; and if they hold any thing understood, as very commonly happens, they do not expressly state that any thing remains over to be expressed. It is certain, however, that the Sclavonic languages, in their expressions for eleven to twenty, do not keep back any thing to be understood, but form those expressions, after the loss of the old, no longer intelligible compounds, anew, with the annexed preposition na, "over"; e.g. in Old Sclavonic, where the numbers eleven, twelve, thirteen, no longer occur, chetyrina-desyaty, "four over ten." The ordinal numbers for eleven and twelve are yedinyi-na-desyaty, "the first over ten," vloryi-na-desyaty, "the second over ten." In the same manner proceeds the twin sister of the Lithuanian—accompanying it, but corrupted—the Lettish, in which weenpazmit signifies "eleven," as it appears to me, with contraction of the d(e)s of desmit, "ten," to z, and overleaping the e. This procedure in Lettish has no doubt originated from the older lika's being no longer intelligible. If it was to be so understood, as Ruhig has taken it, its form would be palpable, and the Lettians might have been satisfied with it. With reference to the composition of the numerals under discussion, there remains to be noticed a most remarkable coincidence of the Lithuanian and German with a Prakrit dialect, which coincidence, when I formerly touched upon this

^{*} Grimm's view is certainly much more natural, "ten and one over, two over." Only it would be to be expected, if the language wished to designate the numbers eleven and twelve as that which they contain more than ten, that they would have selected for combination with one and two a word which signifies "and over, or more," and not an exponent of the idea "to leave," "to remain." It would, moreover, be more adapted to the genius and custom of the later periods of the language, not to forget the number ten in the newly-formed compounds, like the Lettish and Sclavonic.

subject,* was not yet known to me, and which has been since then observed by Lenz in his edition of Urvasi (p. 219). In this dialect, then, the number ten is pronounced simply दह daha—approaching closely to the Gothic taihun—but at the end of the compounds under notice raha: r and l, however, are, according to §. 17., most intimately con-Hitherto only, बारह varaha, "twelve," from द्वादश nected. dvadaśa, and जदहारह attharaha, "eighteen," from जहादश ashtādaša, can be cited, but still from them it is probable that the other numerals too, which fall under this category, have an r for d, apparently to lighten the word loaded by the prefixing of lesser numbers, by exchanging the d for a weak semi-vowel. Now it is a remarkable coincidence that if we were desirous of not seeing a mutation of letters in this raha we should be led to the base rah, "to leave," which is probably identical with the verb, to which recourse has been had for the explanation of the corresponding Lithuanian and German numeral forms.† I thought I had exhausted this subject, when I was led by other reasons to the Hindústáni grammar, where I was agreeably surprised by perceiving that here, also, the number ten, in the designation of eleven, twelve, &c., has taken another lighter form than in its simple state, in which it is pronounced des. But in the compounds under discussion this becomes reh, and, for example, bareh, "twelve," answers to the abovementioned Prakrit baraha, and, like this, has proceeded directly from the

^{*} Influence of the Pronoun on the formation of Words, p. 27; and Histor. Philol. Trans. of the Academy from the year 1833, p. 178, &c.

[†] The a of rah has been weakened in the kindred languages to i: hence linquo, Lithuanian liku, Greek $\lambda \epsilon i\pi \omega$ ($\xi \lambda_i \pi \sigma \nu$), Gothic af-lif-na. In respect to the consonants, we refer the reader to §§. 20. 23.: remark, also, the connection of the Lithuanian laku, "I lick," with the Sanscrit base lih, "to lick."

Sanscrit original form **The Model of Sans**, without observing the form of the simple du, "two," and des, "ten." It may be proper here to quote all the Hindústáni compounds which belong to this subject, together with the corresponding Sanscrit words of which they are the corruptions. We annex, also, the number twenty, and nineteen which is related to it as being twenty less one, as also the simple lower numbers in Hindústáni.

| HINDUSTÁNI. | | | | SANSCRIT, NOMINATIVE. | | |
|-------------|-----|------------------|------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--|
| ê k | 1, | igå-reh | 11, | êkâda śa | 11. | |
| du | 2, | bå-reh | 12, | dvådaśa | 12. | |
| tîn | 3, | tê-re h | 13, | trayôdaśa | 13. | |
| chár | 4, | chau-d eh | 14,* | chaturdaśa | 14. | |
| panch | 5, | pand-reh | 15, | pa n chādaśa | 15. | |
| cheh | 6, | sô-leh | 16,† | shôdaśa | 16. | |
| såt | 7, | set-reh | 17, | saptadaśa | 17. | |
| đth | 8, | atthå-reh | 18, | a sh tâdaśa | 18. | |
| nau | 9, | unnîs | 19, | ûnavinsati (| (" undeviginti ") 19. | |
| des | 10, | bîs | 20, | vin ś ati | 20. | |

320. XX—C. The idea of ten is expressed in Sanscrit by Affi sati, Affi sati, or fit; in Zend by Arawa saiti, who sata or sp ti; and the words therewith compounded are substantives with singular terminations, with which, in Sanscrit, the thing numbered agrees in case, as in apposition, or is put, as in the Zend, in the genitive, as

^{*} The retention of the d is here clearly to be ascribed to the circumstance that the lesser number ends with r, although in the Hindústáni corruption this is no longer present. The Bengali has assimilated the r to the following d, hence châuddo; but, as a general rule, the Bengali in these compounds changes the d into r, and in all cases suppresses the Hindústáni h; as égâro, "eleven," bâro, "twelve," têro, "thirteen."

[†] This form merits particular notice, as, through its l for the r found elsewhere, it comes so near to the Lithuanian and German like, lif. The Bengali is sholo.

dependent upon it. Occasionally, too, one finds these numerals in Sanscrit used adjectively, with plural endings. Compare,

| | SANSCRIT. | ZEND. | GREEK | LATIN. |
|------|------------------|-----------------|----------------------|---------------|
| 20, | विश्वति vinsat | i, کېدىدىدى د i | isaiti, εἴκατι | viginti. |
| 30, | चित्रात् trinsat | th | rišata,* τριάκο | ντα triginta. |
| 40, | chatvárinsat, | chathwarĕsata, | τεσσαράκοντα, | quadraginta. |
| 50, | pancháśat, | panchåšata, | πεντήκοντα, | quinquaginta. |
| 60, | shashti, | csvasti, | έξήκοντα, | sexaginta. |
| 70, | saptati, | haptâiti, | έβδομήκοντα,† | septuaginta. |
| 80, | aśiti, | | όγδοήκοντα, | octoginta. |
| 90, | navati, | navaiti, | ἐνενή κοντα , | nonaginta. |
| 100, | śata-m, | satě-m, | έ-κατό - ν, | centu-m. |

"Remark.—I hold sati, sat, sata, ti, to be abbreviations of dasati, dasat, dasata, and therefore derivations from dasan, "ten," by a suffix ti, ta, or t: the former is,

^{*} The numerals in sata, answering to the Sanscrit forms in sat, are neuters, and occur, like the forms in ti, very frequently in the 6th and 12th Fargard of the Vendidad, but only in the accusative singular, in which satem might also belong to a theme sat. That, however, sata is the theme and the neuter form is clear from Vend. S. p. 230. (in the 7th Fargard), where pancha satem (panchasatem), "fifty," stands as nominative. From csvasti, "sixty," haptâiti, "seventy," and navaiti, "ninety," we find the accusative csvastim, haptâitim, navaitim: on the other hand, in the 12th Fargard, occurs several times visaiti (also written visati and visati) as accusative of visaiti, which perhaps is a dual neuter form (two decades), and according to this would stand for visaiti (§. 210.). But if the final vowel is retained in its original form it is a singular neuter. It is, however, remarkable, that only this final i, and no other, is again found in the kindred Latin and Greek forms.

[†] This and the following number are renovated forms, in which the first member proceeds unorganically from the ordinal number. We might have expected ἐπτήκοντα, ὀκτώκοντα, for the latter Ion. ὀγδώκοντα. In ἐνενήκοντα the two ν are separated from each other: the epic form ἐννήκοντα is more genuine.

in Lithuanian and Sclavonic, already contained in the simple deszimt's, deszimtis, Old Sclavonic desyaty. With regard, however, to the ten being expressed without abbreviation in the languages mentioned, in compounds, also—as in Lithuanian dwideszimti (or tis), "twenty," trysdészimti (or tis), "thirty," and in Old Sclavonic chetyridesyaty, "forty," pyatydesyaty, "fifty"—I do not consider this as a more true retention of the original form, but as a new formation. The Lithuanian, too, from forty upwards, separates the two numbers, and puts the former in the feminine plural, e.g. keturios deszimtis, "forty," penkios deszimtis, "fifty"; in which it is surprising that deszimtis, also, does not stand in the plural. The Gothic method in this numeral category is of comparatively recent date: it has lost, as in thirteen, &c., the ancient compound, and gives, in the numbers under seventy (sixty does not occur), tigus, masculine, as the expression for ten, and declines this, and in twenty, thirty, the lesser number also, with regular plural terminations: hence the accusatives transliguns, thrinsliguns, fidvortiguns, fimftiguns, genitive thriyêtigvê. The substantive tigus, however, is the etymological quaver to taihun and LIBI: it is related to the former essentially, the aspirate having become a medial (see §. 89.), thus rendering the a, which, in taihun, is brought in by the rule of sound mentioned in §. 82., superfluous. Advert, also, to the Latin medials in ginti, ginta, contrasted with the Greek κατι, κοντα, which answer better to déka. Tigu-s may be identical with the Sanscrit ordinal daśa, nominative masculine daśa-s, which occurs only in compounds, as dvadasa-s, "the twelfth." To this daśa-s, therefore, is related tigu-s in regard to its u, as fôtu-s to påda-s, "a foot." In the numbers seventy, eighty, and ninety, ten is denoted by the neuter

^{*} Twenty and thirty do not occur.

substantive thund (theme TEHUNDA, genitive thundi-s); hence sibun-têhund, "seventy," ahtau-têhund, "eighty," niun-tehund, "ninety." The e of this TEHUNDA stands as the representative of the ai of taihun, and I hold DA to be the ordinal suffix, which has introduced into the common ordinals another unorganic N, or, according to Grimm, follows the weak declension; hence TAIHUNDAN, nominative taihunda, "decimus." Hereby, then, it becomes still more probable that the abovementioned tigus also is originally an ordinal number. In our New German this word has transformed itself to zig or ssig (dreissig), and is found also in siebenzig, achtzig, neunzig, Old High German sibunzog, ahtozog, niunzog, or -zoc, and zëhanzog (zoc), Gothic taihuntéhund, "a hundred." The Sanscrit-Zend sata, "a hundred," which is a neuter substantive nominative ज्ञातम् śatam, Ççωω ŝatěm—in my opinion owes its designation to the number ten (daśan), whence it is formed by the suffix ta—the suppression of the final nasal is regular;—so that it is to be regarded as an abbreviation of dasata, as above, য়ৗπ śati, য়য় śat, and the Zend ມຸບມມ sata for dasati, &c. This abbreviation, however, which has given to the word the stamp of a primitive expression specially created for the idea "a hundred," is proved to be of the highest antiquity by the consentaneous testimony of all the kindred languages, Greek κατόν (έκατόν is, verbatim, "one hundred"), Latin centum, Lithuanian szimta-s (masculine), Old Sclavonic sto (at once theme and nominative and accusative neuter).* The Gothic hund and Old High German hunt (theme HUNDA, HUNTA) occur only in compounds, as tva-hûnda, thria-hunda, zuei-hunt, driu-hunt, where the lesser number is likewise inflected. That also शांत sati, शत् sat, and the corresponding words

^{*} In Zend ita occurs more frequently for iata, and just so in the numbers compounded therewith.

in the kindred languages, have in the earliest periods lost the initial syllable of the number ten, and with it the lingual remembrance of the same; and that in לאָננענסןנ vinsati, ביר נענענסןנ vîŝaiti, εἴκατι, εἴκοσι, viginti, the single elements have lain together undisturbed for thousands of years, affords a fresh proof of the agreement of the languages which have most faithfully preserved their ancient construction. I would not, however, wish to maintain that the loss of the d of the number two in the above forms falls under the period of the unity of languages; and that it may not have happened that each of the four individual languages, having become weary of the initial double consonant in a word already encumbered by composition, may have disburthened itself of the initial sound, as we have above seen the Latin and Zend, independently of each other, produce bis from dvis, and bi from dvi, and as, in agreement with the abbreviation of final vinsati, the Prakrit dialect mentioned at p. 443 has laid aside the d in the number twelve also (varaha for dvaraha). It is remarkable that the four oldest and most perfect languages of the Indo-European family in the category of numerals before us, have lost exactly as much of the number ten as the French in the forms for eleven, twelve, &c.; and the ze of douze is therefore identical with the Sanscrit śa of finfa vińsati. The Sanscrit and Zend, however, in a later corruption which is unsupported by the Greek and Latin, have caused the word dasati to be melted down to the derivation suffix ti, and this ti corresponds to the French te of trente, quarante, &c. The numbers which have been thus far abbreviated begin, in Sanscrit and Zend, with sixty, **पश्चि** shashti (ti euphonic for ti), אפעטאאנט csvasti. To the śati of finitati, spany višati, regularly corresponds the Doric κατι of εἴκατι, while in the Latin ginti the smooth letter has sunk to a medial, as in $ginta = \kappa o \nu \tau \alpha$ of the higher numbers. In Sanscrit the n of vinsati,

trinsat, chatvarinsat, is surprising, and one might imagine a transposition of the nasal, so that in the Latin ginti, ginta, centum, and in the Gothic HUNDA, "one hundred," it would stand in its proper place. For the rest, chatvarinsat shews its relation to the neuter chatvari (see §. 312.); as also τρια, τεσσαρα in τριάκοντα τεσσαράκοντα, are, in my opinion, plural neuter forms, with the termination lengthened in $\tau \rho \iota \bar{\alpha}$, and originally, also, in $\tau \epsilon \sigma \sigma \alpha \rho \alpha$, as the Ionic τεσσαρήκοντα, Doric τετρώκοντα,* Latin quadraginta, prove. These forms excite the conjecture, that, in Sanscrit, the introduction of the nasal may, contrary to the explanation attempted above, have the same object that, in Greek, the lengthening of the termination has, namely, an emphatic repetition of the prefixed number, which is also perceptible in the long i of the Zend visaiti, as in the long a of पचात्रत् pancháśat, ६६७००००००००००००० panchášatěm from panchan (§. 318.), and to which again the length of πεντήκοντα, quinquaginta, runs parallel. The Zend chathware, in ມຄຸມມາຊາມອາດັບພຸ chathwaresata, "forty" (Vend. S. p. 380.), is likewise stronger than cha-thru-sata, which might have been expected from §. 312. As wows sata is a neuter, to which, in Greek, κατον or κοντον would correspond, κοντα therefore, and the Latin ginta, are best explained as neuters in the plural, by which the neuter nature of τρια and τεσσαρα is still more authenticated. An auxiliary vowel, which merely facilitated the combination, and which might be assumed in $\dot{\epsilon}\xi\dot{\eta}\kappa o\nu\tau\alpha$, would at least be very superfluous in the theme TPI; and it is much more probable that $\dot{\epsilon}\xi\eta$, too, is a lengthened plural neuter. Compare έξά-κις, έξαπλοῦς, and the remarks on πάντα and πολλά, p. 388.

^{*} The ω for \bar{a} is explained by §. 4. As to the suppression of the vowel before the ρ , $\tau \epsilon \tau \rho \omega$ answers to $\tau \epsilon \tau \rho a$ in $\tau \epsilon \tau \rho a \pi \lambda o \hat{\nu}_{\varsigma}$, which in like manner are based on plural neuter forms instead of the theme.

ORDINAL NUMBERS.

321. While, in designating the number one, the greatest variety obtains amongst the Indo-European languages, they are almost unanimous in their designation of the first, which idea none of the languages here treated of derives from the corresponding cardinal number: Sanscrit प्रथमस् prathama-s (nom.), Zend beend frathems (§. 56b.), Latin primu-s, Lithuanian prima-s, Gothic frum'-s (for fruma-s, §. 135.), or indefinite fruma (theme FRUMAN, §. 140.), or, with newlyadded superlative suffix, frumisi'-s, Old High German éristér, usually indefinite éristo (from the adverb ér, "before"), Greek πρῶτος, Old Sclavonic pervyi. παπ prathama, from the preposition pra, has been already discussed (p. 379); so the Greek $\pi\rho\hat{\omega}\tau o\varsigma$ is derived from the corresponding preposition $\pi\rho\delta$, the lengthening of which to $\pi\rho\omega$ accords with the Sanscrit prå in pråtar, "in the morning" (see p. 378). The suffix TO is an abbreviation of the Sanscrit tama or thama, which occurs even in Sanscrit in चतुर्पस् chatur-tha-s, "the fourth," and use shash-tha-s, "the sixth," as also in Latin in the form of TU in quartus, quintus, sextus, while in Greek this abbreviation extends to all the ordinal numbers, exclusive of δεύτερος, εβδομος, and όγδοος. In Lithuanian the corresponding TA of four runs through all, but in such wise, that, together with septintas, asztuntas, occur also sékmas, ászmas, which correspond to the Sanscrit समनस् saptama-s, जडनस् ashtama-s, in which the last portion of the superlative suffix tama or thama has remained; of which kind of division, also, पद्मनस् panchama-s, नवमस् navama-s, and दश्यम् dasama-s, partake, which therefore complete, by their suffix, the tha of chaturtha, so that both united present the perfect word. The Zend agrees herein with the Sanscrit, only that its burden haptaths agrees more with septintas than with समनम् saptama-s and septimu-s; and that also be pug-dho, "the fifth," belongs more to the European kindred languages, in which it comes nearest to the Lithuanian penk-ta-s. The Lithuanian, however, is more true to the original form, as its sister, the Zend, has softened two original smooth letters, as in Greek, ὄγδοος for ὄκτοος; and, besides this, has aspirated the last, rejected the nasal (comp. p. 94, basta from bandh), and irregularly changed the a to u, as in 'ONYX, corresponding to the Sanscrit an nakha, "a nail." In the numbers from eleven to twenty the superlative suffix, in Sanscrit and Zend, is abbreviated still more than in the simple באש daśama, אוקראאש daśema, and of all the derivational suffix only the a is left, before which the a of the primitive word must fall away, according to a universal principle for the derivation of words; as, द्वादश dvadaśa, אינפענענע avadaśa, " the twelfth"; जादेश chaturdaśa, שנאל (בענע chathrudaša, "the fourteenth." The Latin appears to prove that this abbreviation is comparatively of recent date, and it goes beyond both the Asiatic sisters by its undecimus, duodecimus, not undecus, duodecus; but has, as it were, exhausted itself in the effort which the continuance of these heavier forms has cost it; and has given up the analogous formations in the very place in which the German cardinal numbers have lost the old compound in lif: hence, tertius decimus for the lost tredecimus, &c. An imitation, however, of the abbreviation which we have just remarked in the Sanscrit-Zend dasa is supplied by the Greek and Latin in the forms octav-us, $\delta \gamma \delta o(F)$ -os, where, of the ordinal suffix, in like manner, only the final vowel is left: we might have expected ογδομος, octomus. In the very remarkable coincidence which here exists between the said languages, it must seem strange that, in the remaining designations of the ordinal numbers, the Latin is a much truer colleague to its Asiatic sisters than to the Greek; and it preserves this character, also, in abandoning, from twenty upwards, the full superlative suffix simu-s (from timu-s = तनस tama-s); thus vicesimus or vige-

simus, trigesimus, as in Sanscrit vinsatitama-s, trinsattama-s.* In Latin, however, the termination nti or nta of the primitive is rejected, and in compensation the preceding vowel is lengthened in the form of \bar{e} . Compare, in this respect, the comparative formations discussed in §. 298. The Greek shews its more rare superlative suffix, corresponding to the Sanscrit st ishtha, in the ordinal numbers like eikootos. τριακοστός, with the loss of the ι of ιστος, as in ἕκατος, πόστος. Here also, therefore, as in Latin, the τ_i , σ_i , and $\nu\tau\alpha$ of the cardinal number are rejected. The German languages give in like manner the superlative suffix in numbers from twenty upwards: hence, Old High German dri-zugosto, "the thirtieth," fior-zugosto, " the fortieth": but in the numbers from four to nineteen the TAN or DAN, in Gothic, corresponds, according to the measure of the preceding letter (§. 91.), to the suffix of the kindred languages, as in पत्थिस chaturtha-s, τέταρτο-ς, quartu-s, ketwir-ta-s. The N, however, is an unorganic addition, after the principle of the indefinite adjective declension (§. 285.), which is followed by the ordinal numbers, with the exception of one and two in the older dialects; while the New German has also introduced the definite—fourth, fifth, &c.; hence, Gothic FIMFTAN, nom. masc. fimfta.

322. From the weakened base for dvi, "two" (p. 424), and from the for tri, "three," contracted to tri, the Sanscrit forms the ordinal numbers by a suffix tiya; hence dvitiya-s, tritiya-s. This suffix is easily recognised in the Latin tertius,

^{*} However, this and the higher numbers may follow the analogy of *Ekâdaśa-s*, "the eleventh"; hence, also, vinśa, trińś-a, &c. In Zend I am unable to quote the ordinal numbers from twenty upwards.

[†] In compounds like *fimftataihunda*, "the fifteenth," the lesser number has either preserved the original theme while still free from the n, which was added more lately,—for the lesser number in these compounds does not partake of declension,—or *fimfta* is here the regular abbreviation of the theme *FIMFTAN*, since, as I have already elsewhere remarked (Berl. Ann. May 1827. p. 759), bases in n, in strict accordance with the Sanscrit, drop the n in the beginning of compounds.

as also in the Old Sclavonic tretii, fem. tretiya, which, like all the ordinal numbers, has only a definite declension, in which, however, the particular case occurs, that the defining element is brought with it direct from the East, while the tyi of chetwertyi and others, in which, in like manner, a connection with तीय tiya might be easily conjectured, is, in fact, connected with the \ ta, TO, TU of \ and chaturtha, τέταρτος, quartus, and has arisen from the indefinite theme in TO (comp. the collective chetvero, \S . 312.), according to \S . 255.(d.), although the simple word in most of the formations falling under this category no longer exists. The same relation, then, that chetvertyi, shestyi, have to chaturtha-s, shashta-s, sedmyi, osmyi, have to समन saptama, अप्रम ashtama; and pervyi, "the first," to ya pûrva, "the former"; which expressions, in Sclavonic, remain only in combination with the pronominal base YO (§. 282.). The Zend has rejected the i of the suffix tiya, and abbreviated doi to bi; hence ציסונע bitya, און bitya, in which it is to be remarked that the y, which is thus by syncope united with the t at a comparatively later period, has gained no aspirating influence (§. 47.). To this Zend tya corresponds, by similar suppression of the middle i, the Gothic DYAN (from dya, §. 285.) in THRIDYAN, nom. masc. thridya, the y of which in the Old High German dritto, has assimilated itself to the preceding t, in analogy with the Prakrit forms and Greek comparatives, like θάσσων, κρείσσων, κρείττων, mentioned at p. 402. closer, however, Ties the comparison with διττός, τριττός (δισσός, τρισσός), which are evidently, in their origin, one with the corresponding Sanscrit-Zend ordinal numbers; and, in respect of their reduplicated consonant, have the same relation thereto that the Old High German dritto has to the Gothic thridya. Regarding tvaddyê, "duorum," see p. 422, Rem.: the place of the ordinal number is supplied by the pronoun anthar (see p. 377), Old High German andar, Modern High German ander. Our zweiter, however, is a new unorganic formation. The Old Sclavonic vtoryi (see p. 277)

answers, in respect to its derivation, to the Greek δεύτερος, and, in abbreviation of the base, to the Zend bitya, only that it has lost also the *i* of the Sanscrit dvi-tîya, in regard to which we have, in §. 297., adverted to the Zend ελωλι b-yārě*, "two years."

323. We give here a general view of the ordinal numbers in the feminine nominative singular, since in this case the agreement of all the languages strikes the eye more than in the nominative masculine. The Gothic forms which do not occur we give in parentheses, formed theoretically, and according to the Old High German.

NOMINATIVE FEMININE.

| SANSCRIT. | ZBND. | GR. DOR. | LATIN. | GOTHIC. | LITHUANIAN. | OLD SCLAVONIC. |
|--------------------|--------------|---|-----------|--------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| prathamâ, | frathěma,¹ | πρώτα, | prima, | fruma, | pirmà, | perva-ya. |
| dvitíyâ, | bitya, | δευτέρα, | altera, | anthara, | antrà, | vtora-ya. |
| tritîyâ, | thritya, | τρίτα, | tertia, | thridyô', | tréchià, | treti-ya. |
| chaturthâ,² | tûirya, | τετάρτα, | quarta, | (fidvôrdô'), | ketwirtà, | chetverta-ya. |
| pancha m â, | pugdha, | πέμπτα, | quinta, | fimftô', | penktà, | pyata-ya.³ |
| shashthá, | cstvå,4 | ěктā, | sexta, | saihstô', | szészta, | shesta-ya. |
| saptamâ, | haptatha, | έβδόμα, | septima, | (sibundô'), | sékma, | sedma-ya. |
| ashtamâ, | astěma, | $\partial \gamma \partial \delta \bar{a}$, | octava, | ahtudô', | ászma, | osma-ya. |
| navamâ, | nâuma, | ėννάτā, | nona, | niundô', | derointà,5 | devyata-ya.5 |
| da s amâ, | dašėma, | δεκάτā, | decima, | taihundô', | deszimtà, | desyata-ya. |
| êkâdaśâ, | aêvandasa,6 | ένδεκάτα, | undecima, | (ainliftô'), | wienólikta, | yedina-ya-na-desyaty. |
| vinsati-tamâ, | visaititěma? | εἰκοστά, | vīcesima, | | droideszimtà, | vtoraya-na-desyaty. |

^{*} We should read thus §. 297. for byare, as accusative singular (see Olshausen, Vend. S. 43).

¹ More usually paoirya, masc. paoiryó, by which the Sclavonic pervyĭ, pervaya, is, as it were, prepared.

² Also turiyā, masc. turiya-s, on which is based the Zend tūirya, masc. tūiryô. The suppression of the syllable cha might announce the looser connection of the same with the remaining portion of the word, and thereby support the conjecture expressed at §. 311.

The t of pyataya, masc. pyatyi, has nothing in common with the t of the cardinal number pyaty; the proper primitive is pya (see p. 430), whence PYATI by the suffix TI, and PYATO, fem. PYATA, by the suffix TO, fem. TA (see §. 322.). The same holds good with regard to shestaya in relation to shesty, &c.

⁴ By transposition and syncope from cevasta, as must be expected from the cardinal number was cevas.

⁵ Regarding the d for n, see §. 317. ⁶ See §. 319. Rem. †.

"Remark.—As the old a of the preposition m pra has been weakened to i—as in quinque, answering to panchan —the Latin prima appears distinct from the preposition pro, and is decidedly not derived from a Roman soil, but is, as it were, the continuance of the Indian prathama, the middle syllable being cast out. A similar weakening of the vowel is exhibited in the Greek adverb $\pi \rho i \nu$, which is hereby, in like manner, brought into connection with the preposition $\pi \rho \delta$. In the comparative prior only the pr of the preposition, which forms the base, is left, as the i belongs to the comparative suffix. In Lithuanian the m of the superlative formation has introduced itself also into the preposition pirm, 'before'; but the unaltered pra stands as prefix. Here, however, belongs also pri, 'by, before, behind,' as well isolated as prefixed. The Gothic fruma shews the same relation to prathama that the Latin and Lithuanian do: the u of fru has arisen from a through the influence of the liquid (§. 66.). In the kindred preposition fram, 'before, by,' &c., the original vowel has remained, and in this form, as in the Lithuanian pirm, the superlative m is contained. On m pra rests, also, faur, 'before,' with transposition of the u of fru-ma, and with a prefixed, according to §. 82.

NUMERAL ADVERBS.

324. The adverbs which express the ideas "twice," "thrice," "four times," have been already discussed (p. 424, et supra). Let the following serve for a general view of them:—

| SANSORIT. | ZEND. | GREEK. | LATIN. | OLD NORMAN. |
|-----------|-----------|--------|---------|--------------------|
| dvis, | bis, | δις, | bis, | tvis-var (p. 425). |
| tris, | thris, | τρις, | ter, | thris-var. |
| chatur,* | chathrus, | | quater, | • • • • |

^{*} According to §. 94. for chature.

The Greek forms in κις like τετράκις, πεντάκις, &c., in regard to their suffix, do not belong here, but kis answers to the Sanscrit $\dot{s}as$ (§. 21.), the a being weakened to i; this sas, however, forms adverbs from words which express a great number, multitude or number, as śataśas, "by hundreds," sahasraśas, "by thousands," bahuśas, "of many kinds," ganasas, "in swarms." The original idea of the suffix in both languages is that of repetition, but satasas is an indefinite repetition of a hundred, while in έκατοντάκις the repetition is strictly defined by the numeral. How stands it, then, with the Latin forms like quinquies, sexies, &c.? I believe that in respect to their suffix they are connected neither with the forms in s like dvis, dis, nor with those in $\kappa i s$ (śas), by suppression of the guttural; but as toties, quoties, evidently belong to this class, which are also pronounced quotiens, totiens, this probably being the more genuine form, as in Greek, in a similar case, τιθένς is more genuine than τιθείς (§. 138.), I therefore prefer bringing these forms in ens, es, into conjunction with the Sanscrit suffix vant (in the weak cases vat), which signifies, in pronominal bases, "much," but elsewhere, "gifted with," and the nominative of which is, in Zend, vans, e.g. chvans, "how much," for chivans. suffix has, in Sanscrit, in combination with the interrogative base ki, and the demonstrative base i, laid aside the v; hence kiy-ant, iy-ant—weak form kiyat, iyat—nominative masculine kiyan, iyan; this ant for vant answers therefore to the Greek ENT (nominative masculine $\epsilon \iota \varsigma$), e.g. in μελιτόεις, and also to the Latin ens in totiens, quotiens, which indeed are, in form, masculine nominatives, but must also be considered as neuters, as in nt, too, the masculine nominative has forced its way into the neuter. comes the question whether we ought to divide toti-ens, quoti-ens, or tot-iens, quot-iens? In the former case tot, quot, would have preserved, in this combination, the i

which belongs to them, for they are based on the Sanscrit and tati, "so much," and kati, "how much"; and the ens in toti-ens would, according to that, express the "time," and toti, "so much." In the division tot-iens, however, we should have to assume that in iens, the abovementioned demonstrative इयम iyant, "so much," is contained, but in such wise, that only the meaning of the suffix is still perceived. Under this supposition quinqu-ies would, accordingly, express "five-somuch" (times); in the former case, however, the i, as quinqui-es, octi-es, would have to pass as representative of the e and o of quinque, octo, and that of sexies as a conjunctive vowel, or as an accommodation to the prevailing analogy. In any case, however, the identity of the suffix ens, es, with the Sanscrit ant, from vant is highly probable. The Sanscrit expresses the idea "times" from five upwards by kritvas; as, प्राकृत्वस् panchakritvas, "five times." This kritvas comes from krit, "making," which in sakrit, "once," is sufficient of itself: the annexed vas, however, might, by exchange of the t for s (compare p. 172, Rem.), have arisen from vat, which should be given above as the weak theme for vant; as, tavat, "so much," yavat, "how much" (rel.). With krit from kart (§. 1.) is clearly connected the Lithuanian karta-s, "time," a masculine substantive, which, like the defining number, is put in the accusative, in order to make up for the adverbs under discussion; e.g. wienan kartan, "once," dù kartù, "twice" (accusative du), tris kartùs, "three In Old Sclavonic the corresponding krat or kraty is not declined, and the former appears to be an abbrevia-

^{*} These are neuters, which, in common with the numerals unappanchan, "five," &c. (§. 313.), have, in the nominative, accusative, and vocative, a singular form; in the other cases, plural terminations; while in Latin quot, tot, like quinque, &c., have become completely indeclinable.

tion of the latter, for it cannot be brought into direct comparison with the Sanscrit and krit on account of §.255.(1.): kraty, however, is to be deduced from and kritvas, by suppression of the v. With regard to the y for as compare §.271.

325. Through the suffix \mathbf{v}_{1} dha the Sanscrit forms adverbs in sense and in form, corresponding to the Greek in $\chi \alpha$, which, therefore, have altered the T sound of the suffix into a corresponding guttural, by the usual exchange of organ in aspirates, as in OPNIX for OPNI Θ , and in the forms mentioned at p. 388. Compare,

 Is in dvi-dhâ,*
 δί-χα.

 In in tri-dhâ,
 τρί-χα.

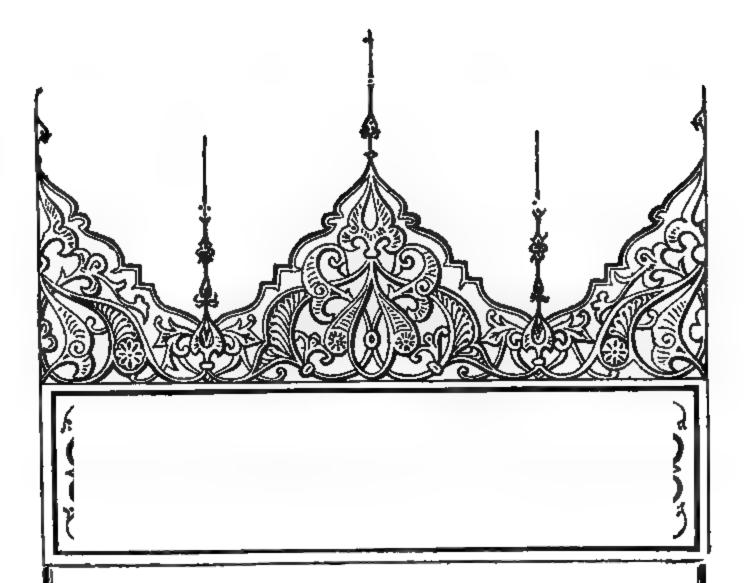
 In in tri-dhâ,
 τέτρα-χα.

 In in tri-dhâ,
 τέτρα-χα.

 In in tri-dhâ,
 πέντα-χα.

END OF VOL. I.

^{* &}quot;Divided into two parts," Sav. V. 108.



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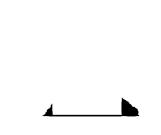
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